THE

Life and Heroic Actions

OF

BALBE BERTON,

Chevalier DE GRILLON.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH by a LADY,

And reviſed by

Mr. RICHARDSON, Author of CLARISSA, GRANDISON, &c.

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The following character of the chevalier de Grillon, the hero of this piece, is extracted from the History of Provence, written by Cesar Nostredamus *, and may very well serve for an introduction to his life.

THIS great man (says he) was not only faultless and irreproachable in his manners, but eminently distinguished for every private and social virtue. In valor and bravery he resembled ALEXANDER; in humanity, gentleness, and moderation in victory, he appeared animated by the soul of SCIPIO. He was knight of the two orders of France, privy counsellor, and colonel of the royal regiment

* Part IV. p. 444.

of

of guards. In his character were united all thoſe graces and virtues, which lie ſcattered and diſperſed in thoſe of the moſt celebrated heroes of antiquity. Where either the honor or true happineſs of his royal maſter was concerned, he was not to be awed by the ſplendor of his diadem, but knew how to addreſs him with the warmth and freedom of the Friend, and the reſpect and reverence of the Subject: by this conduct he was deſervedly poſſeſſed of the confidence of his ſuperiors, of the eſteem of his equals, the affection of his inferiors, and the veneration of all. But as the diſtinguiſhed virtues of this hero deſerve to be the ſubject of a diſtinct and ſeparate hiſtory, I ſhall leave that taſk to a more able pen, and to the annals of France.

THE LIFE OF THE Chevalier DE GRILLON.

BOOK I.

IT is the part of hiſtory to confer immortality on illuſtrious men. Thoſe who have filled the univerſe with their reputation would remain unknown to us, if, together with their names, it had not tranſmitted to us their talents, their virtues, and exploits; their glory, buried in oblivion like themſelves, would not, probably, have extended beyond their own age.

IT were to be wiſhed that every true hero had his hiſtorian. How many men have there been whoſe actions have done honour to their country, and adorned the age in which they lived, of whoſe very names, for want of ſuch faithful recorders, we are ignorant; while the glorious actions of many others lie ſcattered and diſperſed through different works of authors, no one having been found to collect the various particulars of their lives and moſt ſtriking parts of their hiſtory.

AMONG all the illuſtrious names even of antiquity, there are few that better deſerve to be delivered down to poſterity with honour than that of the Brave GRILLON: his valour, intrepid reſolution, calmneſs, and preſence of mind in the midſt of the moſt threatning dangers; the number and importance of his victories, almoſt always obtained at the expence of his own blood; all gave him a title to immortal glory: but few perſons, nevertheleſs, are acquainted with the particulars of thoſe ſhining exploits, which

which were of ſo much importance to the very being of the ſtate, and which gave him a claim to that renown; and ſtill fewer with the leſs glaring and pacific virtues which rendered him as celebrated as his victories.

THOSE who ſeek in hiſtory for inſtructions by which to regulate their conduct, attend with delight to the moſt minute actions of truly great men, even in their private characters: there are none of ſo indifferent a nature, no events ſo inconſiderable, that will not furniſh, to a reflecting and intelligent mind, good and bad examples; the one for warning, the other for imitation.

IT is with this view I undertake to give a minute relation of the life of this great man; and to run thro' the actions and events that happened in the five reigns * in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his private virtues, as by his great atchieve-

* Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV.

ments in arms: without once debaſing his character, or betraying the leaſt inequality in his conduct, he ſhowed himſelf as good a citizen, as he was a valiant leader. What a contemporary hiſtorian ſays of his courage in particular, may give an idea of it: "The "faithful relation of the ſignal proofs he "gave of his valour (ſays Girard *) would "ſeem, to thoſe who know not his cha- "racter, to approach nearer to the flights "of romance, than to the veracity of "hiſtory."

THE ſoldiers gave him the name of A MAN WITHOUT FEAR; Henry III. that of THE BRAVE; and Henry IV. of BRAVE AMONG THE BRAVEST. His valour was neither raſh nor cruel, and almoſt always under the ſtrict guidance of prudence; if even he broke thro' thoſe limits, ſome critical circumſtances, which laid him under an abſolute neceſſity of conquering, required it. If his valour gave him a right to the ſurname of BRAVE, his generoſity, gentle-

* See his life of the duke of Epernon.

neſs,

neſs, diſintereſtedneſs, his inviolable attachment and affection for all the duties of his ſtation, diſtinguiſhed him as one of the moſt amiable men of his age. A character ſtrongly contraſted by the meanneſs, ſervility, artifice, ſelf-intereſtedneſs, and treaſon of many of his contemporaries; vices which were concealed under the ſpecious name of policy.

Men who are ſprung from an illuſtrious origin, and who have no higher diſtinction than what they derive from their names, far from boaſting of their anceſtors, who by their actions and virtues have deſerved to be remembred by poſterity, ought rather to bluſh at being ſo little worthy of them: but thoſe qualities which impel men to great actions are not always hereditary; there are however ſome families where they appear to be ſo: this may be ſaid of the houſe of Balbus Berton, known for two centuries paſt, under the name of Grillon, whoſe origin lies deep in the obſcurity of the remoteſt ages.

THOSE who wiſh to be acquainted with his genealogy, may find it in the following work.

GILLES BALBE count de Berton, in the the year 1530, married Jeanne de Grillet de Briſac, deſcended from the count de St. Trivier; by her he had ſeven ſons. Claudius his eldeſt married Catherine de Joyeuſe, who died without iſſue; the others were, George, a knight of Malta; Thomas, from whom deſcend the meſſieurs de Grillon of our days; Gerard, a knight of Malta; Gilles, who alſo died without iſſue; John, who was in the church; and Lewis, the ſame whoſe hiſtory I am writing.

HE was born at Murs in Provence, in the year 1541; received the order of Malta an infant; and being a younger ſon, was called Grillon from an eſtate of that name; which the elders of that branch, ſince made illuſtrious by our hero, now glory in giving the preference to.

THOUGH a taſte for polite learning was not general among perſons of quality, the count de Berton forgot nothing in the education

cation of his children: the chevalier de Grillon finiſhed his ſtudies with applauſe at Avignon.

THE ſports of his childhood had all ſomething of a warlike turn; his greateſt pleaſure was in the claſhing of arms, ſound of trumpets, and neighing of horſes: he read with extreme delight a relation of combats, battles, and ſieges; and when he was ſtruck with any great exploit, he called the perſon who performed it his maſter and friend. He next proceeded to ſearch into the cauſes of ſo fortunate a ſucceſs.

THIS military inclination diſcovered itſelf early in ſeveral ſudden and unguarded ſallies; certain and undoubted preſages of thoſe great actions he was born to perform, as uſeful to the ſtate as they were glorious for him. He was obſerved to follow with the utmoſt ardor parties of racing, wreſtling, and every other exerciſe which tended to give him vigour, dexterity, and courage. At twelve years old he was able to manage a horſe, and make uſe of arms; but ſoon

tired of theſe mock combats, and eager to engage in real ones, he reſpectfully intreated his father, but with a warmth and earneſtneſs that excluded all poſſibility of a refuſal, to permit him to go and ſerve under the duke de Guiſe.

The count de Berton, charmed with a reſolution which he had expected would ſoon declare itſelf, gave his conſent, and embracing a ſon a thouſand times dearer to him than ever, as he foreſaw to what glorious heights his ardor for fame might carry him, he thought it unneceſſary to recommend any thing to him but moderation and prudence.

It was impoſſible for the chevalier de Grillon to make his firſt campaign under a greater or more experienced general than the duke de Guiſe; nor on the other hand, could the duke perform his operations under the eyes of a young warrior more attentive to ſtudy, follow, unravel, and combine cauſes and effects, or more capable of receiving advantage from them.

The general voice of all Europe pronounced the duke de Guiſe equal to the moſt celebrated leaders: the chevalier de Grillon ſoon gained his eſteem; how indeed could he refuſe it him? His very firſt eſſay in war was one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed actions which contributed greatly to the taking of Calais; a conqueſt that re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of France, which the fatal action of St. Quintin had reduced to the laſt extremity. Before I enter upon a particular relation of this ſiege, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the various intereſts of the court, and ſituation of the kingdom.

Henry II. had reigned eleven years more fortunate than Francis I. his father; his arms had obtained that aſcendant over Charles V. as thoſe of Charles V. had over Francis I. Philip II. king of Spain, notwithſtanding his genius for politics, in vain attempted to recover that pre-eminence of ſucceſs and reputation which had diſtinguiſhed the reign of the emperor his father.

HENRY poſſeſſed all the qualities requiſite to form an accompliſhed prince and a great king: he was graceful in his perſon; extremely active and dextrous in all his exerciſes; polite, gentle, affable, inſinuating; cautious in his words; a penetrating diſcerner and zealous patron of merit, which he raiſed from obſcurity by his notice, and honoured with the moſt diſtinguiſhed recompence; a lover of polite learning; zealous in religion; brave as his father, but leſs credulous, and more ſuſpicious; never influenced either by levity or caprice; conducting all his enterprizes with prudence and circumſpection.

THESE great qualities were ſullied by ſome defects: he was governed by his miniſters and favourites; and the intereſts of the ſtate were always ſacrificed to theirs: ſometimes Henry was ſenſible of this; but he had not firmneſs enough to make a vigorous oppoſition to their meaſures. His taſte for luxury, nouriſhed by a diſpoſition naturally indolent, made him look with dread

dread on the unwearied attention and application ſo neceſſary in kings for the preſervation of their own glory, and the good of their kingdoms. It was owing to the fear of being compelled to take the reins of government into his own hands, that his miniſters (whoſe aſſiſtance he could not do without) were ſuffered to exerciſe their power with impunity.

THE duke de Guiſe and the conſtable of Montmorency were in poſſeſſion of the higheſt employments of the ſtate. They had both all the qualities neceſſary to ſupport their pretentions; but they could not ſee each others credit and riſing reputation without envy: a mutual emulation, and ambitious contention for the favour of the prince, made them ſecretly enemies; the politeneſs and reſpect they ſhewed each other, were only artificial veils to conceal their mutual hatred.

THE princes of the blood were deſtitute of either credit or authority: they were excluded from the government and command

of

of the armies. The example of the conſtable de Bourbon made it dangerous to intruſt them with power. This was the ſtate of affairs at the court of Henry II.

In the very firſt years of his reign he had given a ſignal proof of his piety, in the ſevere edicts he publiſhed againſt the new opinions which had gained credit in the court, the city, and even the parliament; but he ſoftened their ſeverity as occaſions required.

Henry, when he aſcended the throne, entered into an alliance with ſeveral German princes againſt the emperor. The advantages he gained humbled Charles V. accuſtomed to conquer when he fought againſt Francis I. Incenſed at Henry's ſucceſs, he came in perſon, at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, to lay ſiege to Metz. He had the diſgrace to meet with ſo reſolute a reſiſtance, as forced him to raiſe the ſiege. The king owed this advantage to the experience, activity, valour, and intrepidity of the duke de Guiſe.

Charles V. wanted greatneſs of mind to bear

bear up under this ſhock: his reaſon, which had before given a proof of its being weakened, by this ill conducted enterprize, yielded to the ſtroke. In the firſt emotions of his grief, he took a reſolution to ſhade himſelf from the eyes of the univerſe: he gave the empire to his brother Ferdinand, and his other ſtates to don Philip his ſon. This project, which ſunk Charles to a life of ſolitude and privacy, was no ſooner concerted than executed.

The new king of Spain was not leſs intent upon extending his power and influence at the expence of France, than the emperor his father; but his diſpoſition was leſs warlike; the cabinet was his element. His valour was leſs dreadful than the oblique and ſubtle reſources of a myſterious policy, which made a principal part of his character: ſcarce had he been a year upon the throne, when he broke the truce agreed upon between France, the Empire, and Spain. His arms were at firſt victorious; the French were defeated before St. Quintin, which the enemy had beſieged.

NEVER ſince the race of the Valois aſcended the throne, had France ſuſtained ſo great a loſs. Almoſt all the infantry, with the baggage, colours, and cannon, fell a prey to the enemy: but that of the princes, the greateſt among the nobility, and of ſix hundred gentlemen killed or taken priſoners, was a loſs which made the action of that day ſeverely felt for many ſucceeding ages. The conſtable wounded, fought like one who ſought death to ſhun the diſgrace of a defeat. The duke of Savoy, who commanded the enemy's army, completed his glory by taking him priſoner.

THE king of Spain arrived ſome days after, amidſt the acclamations of the whole army. This prince, who was contented with making himſelf illuſtrious among the princes of his age by his wiſdom and refined politics, addreſſing himſelf to his generals, and congratulating himſelf on the ſucceſs of his arms, declared it was to their conduct and valour he owed the victory of that day.

THE

The duke of Savoy making a motion to kiſs his hand, the king drew it back; ſaying, It becomes me rather to kiſs thoſe hands which have been the inſtruments of ſo glorious a work; and immediately made him a preſent of all the colours he had taken from the French. The duke of Savoy ordered them to be carried to the church of Notre Dame at Nice.

Philip II. after ſo ſignal a victory, did not doubt but St. Quintin would capitulate; but the admiral de Coligni determined to bury himſelf there with the gariſon, and endeavoured to animate and encourage them by an example of the moſt intrepid and undaunted reſolution.

The enemy, notwithſtanding the admiral's vigorous defence, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt gave a general aſſault. The admiral cauſed his orders to be executed with admirable preſence of mind: having notice that the enemies would climb the ramparts upon the ruins of a tower, he flew to the ſpot, followed only by three officers.

officers and a page, not daring to unman the breach he defended. His valour was rewarded with the loſs of his liberty; he was conducted to Alonzos, colonel of the old Spaniſh band.

Above three hundred gentlemen were taken with St. Quintin. If the captivity of the admiral was the effect of his raſhneſs; the obſtinacy, imprudence, or rather deſpair of the conſtable, put him alſo in the power of the conquerors. He might reproach himſelf for being the occaſion of the loſs of a battle, which laid France at the mercy of her enemies; nothing could hinder their reaching Paris; no troops nor fortified places were in a condition to ſtop their progreſs.

Charles V. when he heard of the defeat of the French, and the taking of St. Quintin, aſked the courier who brought him the news, If the king of Spain was at Paris? intimating, that if Philip had not extended his conqueſts to that capital, he had drawn but a weak advantage from his victory.

The

The loſs of the city and battle of St. Quintin was received by the king with the moſt lively grief, and ſpread terror and alarm through all Paris; they were employed there with as much ardor as diligence to caſt up intrenchments. The king recalled the duke de Guiſe from Italy; he diſpatched to him courier after courier with peremptory orders to return, and bring back the army under his command.

The duke was received at court with all that expectation, love, and reverence we naturally feel for a general whom we look up to as the deliverer and protector of his country: the eyes of all France were fixed upon him: the king honoured him with the higheſt diſtinction; he made him lieutenant-general of all the ſtates; he had even a thought of making him vice-roy: if he did not give him the title, he inveſted him with all the authority of it.

The duke de Guiſe, in order to ſupport the reputation he had acquired, and juſtify the king's choice and the confidence he had repoſed

repoſed in him, determined, without waiting for the ſpring, to ſtrike ſome daring and glorious ſtroke: he aſſembled all the troops, and compoſed a fine army. The enemy, without being intimidated, imagined it was deſtined for St. Quintin, to attempt retaking that place, and to endeavour in that enterprize to recover the reputation France had loſt.

The duke ſecretly determined to revenge upon Calais the loſs of St. Quintin: he privately inſinuated this project to the king, that he might have the glory of having firſt conceived it. The king, elated with this ſcheme, propoſed in council to beſiege Calais. The attempt appeared difficult and dangerous: the duke was of the number of thoſe who oppoſed it; he intended by his oppoſition to give a higher luſtre to the conqueſt, if he ſucceeded, and in caſe he miſcarried, to throw the blame upon thoſe, who, contrary to the common opinion, were obſtinately bent upon the ſiege. He long reſiſted a reſolution to attack

tack a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, in the rigour of winter: he exaggerated the dangers which attended it; and affected an unwillingneſs, which ſeemed to diſclaim any ſhare in the conſequences of an enterprize which the king ſeemed ſo ardently to deſire.

The defeat of St. Quintin had ſo much weakened our armies, that the king was obliged to iſſue a proclamation to aſſemble the arriere-ban; he ſent orders to all gentlemen who were capable of bearing arms, immediately to take the field upon pain of forfeiting their nobility; and all thoſe who offered to ſerve as volunteers at their own expence, were permitted to attend the king.

It was in this criſis of affairs that young Grillon obtained his father's conſent to make his firſt attempt in arms under the conduct of ſo great a general as the duke of Guiſe. He repaired to Paris, where his birth, vivacity, graceful perſon, and ardor for glory, made him received with the higheſt diſtinction. His diligence at ſixteen in ſtudying the art of war; his eagerneſs in ſeeking all occaſions

occaſions of gathering inſtruction from others; the attention with which he liſtened to thoſe to whom time and practice had given experience, ſoon gained him the eſteem of the generals; who were fond of giving him proofs of their friendſhip, and ſuffering him to perceive the hopes they entertained, that he would one day be a great warrior.

The chevalier de Grillon marched as volunteer under the duke de Guiſe, who, already prepoſſeſſed in his favour, and a friend of his father, made him his aid-de-camp.

All preparations being ready by ſea and land, the duke divided his army into three bodies; and by feigned marches kept the enemy in ſuſpence till the firſt of January, when he found himſelf before Calais. This city is encompaſſed on all ſides by the ſea or fens; there is no other way of approaching it, except by a mole raiſed in the midſt of the fens, and defended by the fort of Nieulay.

At

At ſome diſtance from this fort, there is another called St. Agathe; the entrance to this port is defended by the tower of Riſban; which is a work of the moſt ſtrength: there was formerly towards the eaſt a citadel, which has ſince been deſtroyed, and rebuilt; the city is ſurrounded by a moat ſo large and deep, that it receives between its banks the river de Hames and ſeveral leſſer ſtreams.

The taking of Calais depended upon the ſurrender of the forts. It was determined to begin by taking poſſeſſion of them: the firſt attack was made upon St. Agathe; three thouſand arquebuſiers began the aſſault, and repulſed the Engliſh; they were compelled to abandon that poſt and retire to Nieulay; which was carried the day following.

Lord Dumfort, governor of Calais, had thrown the beſt troops of the gariſon into Riſban, and furniſhed it with artillery; the importance of this fort in covering the intrenchments, made theſe precautions neceſſary:

ceſſary: an officer of valour and experience commanded there. The duke de Guiſe, who knew the value of time, eſpecially in a ſeaſon ſo ſevere, ordered the troops that were to attack Riſban to be conducted along the ſhore, and immediately commanded them to batter it with cannon. After the firſt fire, he gave orders for a general aſſault.

GRILLON, impelled by a noble impetuoſity, and unmoved at the dreadful fire of the enemy (who were determined at all hazards to preſerve the fort) was among the firſt to begin the aſſault. Never did any one brave death with more daring intrepidity! the greatneſs of the danger appeared worthy his courage: he was the firſt to mount the breach, and ſtood firm almoſt alone againſt thoſe who defended that poſt.

THE officer who commanded in Riſban no ſooner diſcovered Grillon upon the breach, than (aſtoniſhed at ſo daring an attempt, and to puniſh him for ſuch an exceſs of raſhneſs) he attempted to throw him into

into the moat; but the chevalier de Grillon, being aware of his intention, attacked, diſarmed, and threw him down firſt; and, without conſidering whether he was ſupported, he forced his way into the fort, put all he met to the ſword, with ſo intrepid a courage, that, alone, and unaſſiſted, he ſuſtained the united efforts of the beſieged, till he was joined by thoſe that followed him.

The Engliſh being deprived of their leader, were quite diſpirited: the fort was carried, the gariſon made priſoners of war, and the city, no longer defended by the forts, ſurrendered the eighth day, after having been two hundred years in the power of the Engliſh, who had employed eleven months in taking it.

Calais was taken by Edward III. in the year 1347. The kings of England, proud of this conqueſt, uſed to boaſt, that the keys of France hung at their girdles: and the Engliſh ſaid, the French ſhould retake it when iron ſwam like cork upon the water.

Grillon, with the glory of ſucceſs, received the applauſes of the whole army. The duke de Guiſe gave him the moſt flattering praiſes: the attack and aſſault of Riſban had been a means of his diſcovering in Grillon ſuch ſuperior talents, joined to ſo heroic a courage; he had beheld with ſo much delight and aſtoniſhment in a young man of ſeventeen, ſuch glorious beginnings, that he gave him diſtinguiſhed marks of friendſhip, and looked upon him, from that hour, as a warrior equal to the moſt hazardous enterprizes. The chevalier de Grillon, far from being elated with theſe diſtinctions, was but the more eager and attentive to acquire that experience, without which valour is not only uſeleſs, but, in many caſes, pernicious.

He had intreated the duke not to refuſe him the means of gathering farther inſtructions, by expoſing a life which he ſet no other value upon, than as it might be a means of his becoming more worthy the name he bore, and doing credit to the inſtructions of ſo great a general.

The Duke of Guiſe, pleaſed and flattered with theſe praiſes, aſſured him, that he would favour this ardor; and he did not forfeit his word. Thus Grillon was preſent upon all occaſions, and always gave proofs of a prudence and valour above his age.

The reputation of common men riſes by ſcarce perceptible degrees: experience brings their talents to perfection; it is late before they enjoy a fame they in vain hope to acquire, without ſome great and ſhining exploit, which has been preceded by an infinite number of others more obſcure and leſs dazzling: but there are ſome extraordinary men born for great things, who riſe at once to perfection: nothing is wanting but an opportunity to exert thoſe talents which are born with them.

The chevalier de Grillon was one of thoſe warriors who ſtand in need of no examples, and have nothing to do, but to give way to the impulſe of their own genius.

The taking of Calais ſurpriſed and perplexed all the courts of Europe. They had looked upon France as too much weakened and depreſſed ever to recover its former vigour. The enemies of that crown, far from expecting to ſee it conquer other cities, were diſputing together for thoſe of that kingdom, and dividing them among themſelves: they were aſtoniſhed to find it neceſſary to take meaſures to defend their own. This conqueſt of the duke, which had revenged France of her enemies, and ſo glorioufly repaired the diſgrace of the action of St. Quintin, threw an increaſing luſtre upon the glory he had before acquired. From theſe advantages, compared with the diſaſter which had faded the laurels of the conſtable, reſulted a ſtriking contraſt, which overthrew the reputation of the latter.

The friends of the duke de Guiſe ſaw the fall of the conſtable with a malicious joy: they conſidered the duke's ſucceſſes as ſo many triumphs they gained over the partiſans of the Montmorencys.

The duke being deſirous to augment the glory he had gained at the taking of Calais, proceeded next to lay ſiege to Guines. This place was better fortified than Graveline, which ſome general officers adviſed him to take poſſeſſion of firſt. But the conqueſt of that place was more important, as it ſecured a communication between Calais and other cities of France.

The third day thirty-five pieces of cannon, pointed againſt the intrenchments, made a breach in the walls. The duke gave d'Andelot orders to begin the aſſault; who, after an obſtinate engagement, was repulſed by the Engliſh.

The duke kept his word with young Grillon; he fixed upon him for the moſt hazardous enterprizes: animated and excited by the high opinion that prince entertained of him, he gave proofs of a valour and prudence which would not have diſgraced the conduct of the moſt experienced general.

The duke, piqued at d'Andelot's ill ſucceſs, marched himſelf with freſh troops, and carried the breach. He ſaw Grillon, who was the firſt to mount it, attack the enemy with an intrepidity always victorious. The day following the governor ſurrendered the place; which was razed to the ground as uſeleſs, Ardres and Calais covering the frontiers on that ſide.

The enemies ſpared the duke de Guiſe the toil of beſieging Hames, incompaſſed with moats, and very difficult of acceſs. They evacuated that place at a rumour that the conqueror of Calais and Guines was advancing to take poſſeſſion of it. From this æra we may date the total chacing of the Engliſh out of this kingdom; where they have only, ſince that time, made ſome occaſional deſcents, which the civil wars under the ſucceeding reigns facilitated. We owe theſe victories to the duke de Guiſe, who, in leſs than a month, compelled a people born enemies of the French, to repaſs the ſeas.

The duke of Guiſe was welcomed at Paris and at court, as the deliverer of his country: the king received him with eſteem and affection, and gave him all thoſe encomiums his rapid and deciſive ſucceſs deſerved. Grillon was preſented to him by the duke, with theſe words; "This gentle-"man has no other fortune except his birth "and his ſword; but I have a ſtrong pre-"ſage that he will one day become formi-"dable to the enemies of your majeſty."

Henry, already prepoſſeſſed in his favour, received him with diſtinction, and gave him a benefice. In a letter of the duke de Guiſe to the count de Berton, father to Grillon, this gift of the king is mentioned, but the living is not named. It was afterwards known that he had the archbiſhoprick of Arles, the biſhopricks of Frejus, Toulon, Senez, de St. Papoul, and the abbey of Iſlebarbe *. In that age, hiſtory informs us,

* They were called Cuſtodinos.

that it was common to give livings, biſhopricks, and archbiſhopricks to the laity, which they filled with eccleſiaſtics of their own chooſing †.

A FEW days after, the king appointed Grillon captain of five hundred men, in a regiment which that prince had juſt raiſed of ſix thouſand men of Lionnois, Dauphiné, Provence, and Auvergne, commanded by the baron Deſadret. His commiſſion was dated the twenty-fourth of March, 1558.

GRILLON, who had an excellent heart, was deeply affected with theſe marks of the king's goodneſs. He returned him thanks with that warmth and ardor natural to him; vowing eternal zeal and fidelity; and adding, that he ſhould from that hour conſider his life as devoted to the ſervice of his country, and be always ready to ſacrifice it for its ſafety. To his lateſt hour he ever ſcrupulouſly adhered to this promiſe.

† Meſſieurs de Grillon have in their archives at Avignon the proof of theſe facts.

The ſincerity and ſimplicity of his character could not long agree with that of the baron Deſadret; whoſe views (as incompatible with the duty he owed the king, as his attachment to the Catholic religion) he ſeemed to penetrate into and foreſee their tendency. Soon tired of a command which confined him to a life of indolence, ſo inconſiſtent with his activity and ardor for glory, he intreated the king's permiſſion to ſerve about his own perſon in quality of a volunteer.

The victories of the duke de Guiſe ſecured his favour with the king; and as if fortune was never weary of raiſing this family, it had now the additional advantage of being allied to the dauphin by the marriage of that prince with Maria Stuart queen of Scotland, niece to the Guiſes.

The impriſonment of the conſtable de Montmorency made the direction of affairs fall into the hands of the cardinal of Lorrain. D'Andelot, nephew to the conſtable, by his obſtinate adherence to the new hereſy,

forced the king to put him under arreſt, and diveſt him of his poſt of colonel-general of the French infantry: this charge was given to Montluc, one of the emiſſaries of the Guiſes.

The cardinal of Lorrain, ſeeing his family had at length attained to the higheſt pitch of honour and favour, thought his fortune had no further occaſion for ſupport: he began to look upon the diſſembled reſpect and decent politeneſs he had hitherto obſerved towards the ducheſs de Valentinois (to whom he owed obligations which nothing but his pride could ſuffer him to forget) as an humiliating conſtraint. He went ſo far as to rally her with a ſeverity which affected her very deeply.

Though the ducheſs was in an advanced age, her empire over the king was ſtill the ſame: ſtung and incenſed at the cardinal's ingratitude, ſhe determined to make him ſenſible that ſhe was not to be offended with impunity, and that ſhe had ſtill power to weaken a credit which only

ſerved

ſerved to make him vain and ungrateful. What to her appeared the ſureſt expedient, was to recall the conſtable, and ſet him in oppoſition to the Guiſes. Confiding in her power over the king, ſhe prevailed with him to make peace with Spain. This prince was the more eaſily induced to comply, as he dreaded the viciſſitudes of fortune. The ducheſs propoſed the conſtable as the man of the court the moſt capable of negotiating a peace, and the fitteſt to be intruſted with the intereſts of France.

THE conſtable's unfortunate defeat had not in the leaſt weakened the king's affection for him: he wrote him the moſt ſoothing and conſoling letters; and continued ſtill to give him the trueſt proofs of his friendſhip. The ducheſs gave the conſtable ſecret intelligence of the deſign ſhe had formed to reſtore him to all the ſplendor of his former favour; and make an alliance with him, which ſhould unite their intereſts for ever, by marrying Henrietta de Bouillon, her grand-daughter, to d'Anville the conſtable's

ſon. The king ſent all inſtructions neceſſary to negotiate a peace.

The conſtable, proud of being employed in ſo honourable an embaſſy, aſſured the ducheſs, that he and his family ſhould be eternally devoted to her ſervice. He made propoſitions of peace to Philip II. who was as impatient as Henry to put a period to the war. In the very firſt audience, the king of Spain gave the conſtable his liberty (who during thoſe conferences was frequently obliged to confer with the king) in order to impart to him the reſult: he was always received by him with the tendereſt marks of his eſteem. Peace, in fine, was concluded between France, the Empire, Spain, and England. To make it more ſolid and laſting, two alliances were formed; one with Elizabeth of France, eldeſt daughter to the king, with the king of Spain; and the other between princeſs Claudia, ſiſter to the king, and the duke of Savoy.

The Guiſes were equally ſurpriſed and diſappointed at not being choſen to negotiate

tiate a peace; and the ſucceſs of the conſtable's negotiation increaſed their confuſion and perplexity: they foreſaw that this formidable rival of their ambition would ſhare with them the favours and diſtinctions of the prince, they anticipated the decreaſe of their credit and influence, and the advantage the conſtable would draw from it. It was then that the cardinal began to reproach himſelf for his indiſcreet conduct towards the ducheſs of Valentinois.

The nuptials of Elizabeth and Claudia were ſolemnized at Paris with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence. Grillon, who was remarkable for agility and gracefulneſs in all his exerciſes, ſhone among the foremoſt.

Henry omitted no kinds of ſpectacles to celebrate theſe two marriages; but his favourite one was tournaments; an amuſement which in the end proved fatal to him. After having repulſed ſeveral attacks, he inſiſted upon breaking a lance with Montgomery: a ſhiver of the count de Montgomery's

gomery's flew through the vizor of his helmet, and pierced ſo deep into his right eye, that he was inſtantly thrown down. He died eleven days after, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

The king's death gave birth to all thoſe civil wars which tore and divided France. Henry left four ſons; the eldeſt, who was but ſixteen, ſucceeded him: this prince was Francis II. He had a natural propenſity to piety and virtue; but with an underſtanding extremely limited. Thoſe whoſe ambition made them aſpire to the government, found it very eaſy to ſtrengthen their authority under the name of the king. The court now wore another aſpect.

In the preceding reigns, the families of the Guiſes and Montmorencys had divided between them the royal favour and government of the ſtate. Henry was no ſooner dead, than two parties aroſe which aſpired to the direction of affairs. Catherine, as mother to Francis II. claimed a right to the

the regency till that prince was of an age to govern by himſelf. Powerful as were the parties of the Guiſes and Montmorencys, they could not with reaſon oppoſe a pretenſion, which more than one example ſtrengthened, and gave a ſanction to. But another party aroſe, which claimed a juſter title to the government than that of the queen; theſe were the princes of the blood; who conſidering the extreme youth and incapacity of the king as a favourable circumſtance, reſolved to take advantage of both, and make themſelves amends for the injuſtice the late king had done them, in excluding them from the direction of affairs, and the command of the armies.

Antoine de Bourbon king of Navarre, and Lewis de Condé his brother, were both formidable rivals to Catherine of Medicis: their birth was the foundation of their rights, and their perſonal merit the ſupport of them. Both chiefs of the houſe of Bourbon, called to the throne in caſe the line of Valois became extinct; ſo that in effect none had a juſter claim than they.

The ambition of Catherine had been curbed and reſtrained under the reign of Henry II. or rather under that of the duch-of Valentinois, whoſe fall was as ſignal and remarkable, as had formerly been her favour.

Catherine was adorned with every grace of mind and figure; her ſtature was tall; her features regular, with an expreſſion of mingled ſweetneſs and dignity in her countenance; the air of pomp and magnificence in her appearance commanded reſpect. Her underſtanding was extenſive; her humour pliant, inſinuating, ſoft, and engaging: her ſuperior talents for negotiation never left her deſtitute of expedients and reſources equally uſeful and pernicious. Her wit was ſubtle and penetrating; capable of all the intrigues of the moſt refined policy; it was the more difficult to diſcover her true ſentiments, as ſhe had the power of ſuppreſſing and concealing even the moſt ſudden emotion. It was impoſſible to form any judgment from her countenance of the ſentiments of her heart; proof againſt re-

morſe,

morſe, ſhe ſcrupled nothing to attain her ends. Theſe dangerous talents were brought to perfection by reading Machiavel, which, at that time, was called the breviary of the court. She made her religion often yield to the maxims of policy: poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of ambition, ſhe was favourable to the proteſtants, that ſhe might command their aſſiſtance upon occaſion. Yet we do not find, that theſe ſpecious reaſons which are alleged to plead the neceſſity ſhe was under of conforming to the times ſhe lived in, were of ſufficient force to acquit her of a conduct too wavering and equivocal.

Catherine foreſaw the impoſſibility of triumphing over three parties at once; her ambition, yet trembling and apprehenſive, durſt not flatter itſelf with ſtanding without a ſupport; a ſtranger in France, and though the mother of a king, yet of a young king, whoſe underſtanding was ſtill weaker than his body; with three factions equally powerful to combat, who had attached to their intereſts perſons of the higheſt

higheſt rank and influence in the court and army; theſe prudent reflections determined her to unite herſelf to one of theſe factions, with a reſolution to abandon it as ſoon as her authority was firmly eſtabliſhed. The faction of the Guiſes from the aſcendant they had over the king, who tenderly loved the young queen their niece, appeared to her the ſtrongeſt. The conſtable's diſgrace was the firſt ſign which diſcloſed Catherine's union with the Guiſes and the Montmorencys; the king baniſhed him, and deprived him of the charge of grand maſter of the houſhold; this poſt, together with the command of the armies, was given to the duke de Guiſe; the cardinal of Lorrain was appointed firſt miniſter.

Catherine, who hated the ducheſs of Valentinois, haughtily commanded her to retire from court; but notwithſtanding her diſgrace ſhe always preſerved a ſecret connexion with it, and was often the concealed inſtrument of the operations and changes of the government.

The princes of the blood were extremely offended at this union of Catherine with the Guiſes. They had reaſon to apprehend, according to the maxims of preceding reigns, that they ſhould be once more removed from the direction of affairs: their reſentments and antipathy to the Guiſes; their own intereſts which ſeemed to require them to unite and make themſelves formidable enough to cruſh a too-powerful party; all concurred to force them upon the fatal reſolution of exciting a civil war, by making the Huguenots enter into their views. Thus a pretence of religion ſanctified their revolt: this enterprize called for courage, reſolution, and activity; a regular and well concerted plan, and a perfect intelligence among themſelves in the execution of it.

The king of Navarre was of a pacific diſpoſition; he could not reſolve to ſee his country a prey to diſcord and confuſion; nothing could be more repugnant to the moderation and gentleneſs of his character, than this terrible and violent reſource; a gentleneſs

gentleneſs which as it were ruled his ambition, and made it harmleſs. The ſubtle queen ſaw, and took advantage of this temper; ſhe impoſed upon the credulity of this prince, by ſoothing him with a proſpect of recovering Navarre; this flattering hope prevailed with him to conduct himſelf with caution and circumſpection.

The prince of Condé his brother, was active, impetuous, brave and enterprizing; full of fire and ambition; a ſtranger to thoſe delicacies and precautions which moderation demanded, an inveterate enemy of the Guiſes, and allied to the Montmorencys; he attached to his intereſts the admiral Coligni, d'Andelot, and Odet, cardinal Chatillon nephew to the conſtable; all the partizans of the houſes of Bourbon and Montmorency, and all thoſe who had embraced the new doctrine, enliſted themſelves in this faction.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the edicts in the preceding reigns, there was an infinite number of perſons of all ranks, who

who had embraced the errors of Calviniſm; they only waited for an opportunity of riſing and demanding liberty of conſcience ſword in hand.

IN this diſpoſition the prince of Condé addreſſed them; he took advantage of it to form that famous conſpiracy d'Amboiſe; a conſpiracy which in its conſequences threatened the lives of the Guiſes, the liberty of the king, and aſſured to the Calviniſts a free exerciſe of their religion. But the duke de Guiſe having intelligence of ſome particulars, took ſuch quick and prudent meaſures, that the conſpiracy was only fatal to thoſe who had raſhly engaged in it. After having given his inſtructions to thoſe lords of the court whom he could ſafely rely on, he commanded all perſons who ſhould be found gathered together without order from the prince, to be put to the ſword: he ſelected, for this ſevere execution, a number of gentlemen who had bravery, zeal, and reſolution enough to defend the king's perſon from the pernicious deſigns of the conſpirators.

The chevalier de Grillon was pitched upon by the duke de Guiſe as one of the moſt capable to direct and accompliſh this enterprize: he was ſtruck with horror at this cruel commiſſion, and felt in himſelf an extreme reluctance to exerciſe his valour upon his fellow citizens; who, though rebels, were defenceleſs: but full of ſubmiſſion to the commands of a prince who had given him a thouſand marks of his eſteem and confidence, his zeal got the better of his compaſſion.

Grillon, attended by the troops and gentlemen which the duke had drawn from the caſtle of Amboiſe, and who were appointed to obey this young general's orders, attacked a party of the conſpirators, who, aſtoniſhed and intimidated at his approach, were all either killed, taken priſoners, or diſperſed. After this action he quitted Amboiſe; and joining the duke de Guiſe, they ſurprized and defeated the baron de Caſtelnau Chaloſſe, who was haſtily marching with ſome Gaſcon troops to ſurprize Francis II. then at Amboiſe.

The duke de Guiſe and the cardinal his brother knew how to aſſume all the merit to themſelves, which the diſcovery of this fatal plot deſerved. The king liſtened with the utmoſt indignation to a relation of this black attempt; he commanded the traitors to be puniſhed with extreme ſeverity, that thoſe who had eſcaped his vengeance might be deterred by the example.

Notwithstanding Catherine's endeavours to ſave the life of the prince of Condé (whom they called the concealed chief of the rebels, and againſt whom they had but too many proofs) he would have found no protection from the king's vengeance in being a prince of the blood, had not the Guiſes, from motives of policy, had recourſe to diſſimulation, and pretended to believe him innocent.

At the very time when the miniſtry was employed in detecting and puniſhing the accomplices of this conſpiracy, new ſeditions aroſe in the provinces: the miniſters of the new religion dared even publicly to propagate

propagate their errors with all the inſinuating power of eloquence.

The king ſeveral times aſſembled the ſtates without having power to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom; on the contrary, freſh plots were daily detected againſt the Guiſes, and to favour the eſtabliſhment of the pretended reformed party.

The prince of Condé was looked upon as the ſecret ſpring which gave life and vigour to the faction: this prince was by the king's order put under arreſt; he was tried, condemned, and appointed to ſuffer before the meeting of the ſtates, which were convoked in December; but Catherine, who had occaſion for him to oppoſe the exceſſive power of the Guiſes, ſuſpended the execution of his ſentence; and the king's death, which happened the fifth of December, changed the face of affairs.

The intrigues of Francis II's reign had reduced all the contending factions to two; that of the princes and the Guiſes. Catherine (to ſpeak properly) had been attached

to

to neither; ſhe ſupported her influence by raiſing and ſinking alternately one and the other, as her ſyſtem of politics required: but the minority of Charles IX. who was but ten years and a half old, furniſhed her with a pretence to reſume her authority by demanding the regency of the ſtate. That ſhe might be aſſured of ſucceſs, ſhe recalled the conſtable of Montmorency: tho' he was in the decline of life, his genius was ſtill capable of conceiving and perfecting great enterprizes, and his arm yet vigorous enough to execute them.

Catherine ſet the prince of Condé at liberty, and cauſed him, by a decree of parliament, to be declared innocent, requiring the king of Navarre to yield to her the regency, and be content with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. She aſſembled the ſtates, where all was conducted agreeable to her views. But now this princeſs, who fancied her authority firmly eſtabliſhed, ſaw a party ariſe which threatned to be very formidable, formed by

by the Guiſes, the conſtable of Montmorency, and the marſhal de St. André: this laſt, in the two preceding reigns, had the art and addreſs, without any aſſiſtance, to form and ſuſtain a party.

This union was under the influence and direction of the ducheſs de Valentinois, who had kept up her correſpondence and connexions at court, where her friends were as ſtrong and powerful, as her hatred againſt Catherine of Medicis. She influenced the conſtable to reconcile himſelf to the duke de Guiſe, and to make profeſſion of his ancient religion. The marſhal de St. André, who was intruſted by the ducheſs with this negotiation, managed it with ſo much addreſs, that he re-united thoſe two great men; and they vowed an eternal friendſhip for each other; and gave the moſt convincing proof of their ſincerity, by receiving the ſacrament at Eaſter from the hands of the ſame prieſt. The duke de Guiſe afterwards went to ſupper with the conſtable, where he met the marſhal de St. André.

After

After the death of Henry II. (whom the marſhal had too much influence over) to preſerve the remains of his fortune, he entered into the party of the duke de Guiſe. He had information, that it was determined to make a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of thoſe who had abuſed their favour; and to compel them to reſtore the gratuities they had received from the king. The marſhal and ducheſs de Valentinois, who were perſuaded that they were the perſons whom they had principally in view, thought of an expedient to elude the ſearch: they imagined the ſureſt method was to raiſe a party in oppoſition to Catherine, which they were to call the Triumvirate; one of the principal articles was, that they ſhould ſwear never to deſert each other; to defend to the laſt the Catholic religion; and upon all occaſions to denounce war againſt the Huguenots.

The marſhal de St. André had been diſtinguiſhed in Henry II's time for the politeneſs of his manners, and his taſte for

luxury and expence: he was called the Lucullus of the age; hated by the Huguenots, and not esteemed by Catherine. She had been told that he had said in the assembly of the Triumvirs, that she ought to be put in a sack, and thrown into the sea.

CATHERINE was extremely surprised, but not disconcerted, when she heard of this confederacy; she believed it would not be impossible to attach the opposite faction to her interests; which being composed of the king of Navarre, first prince of the blood, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni, (one of the strongest supports of the Huguenots) of d'Andelot, and cardinal Chatillon, was not less powerful than that of the Triumvirs. She believed herself assured of the concurrence of the chancellor of the hospital, and of Montluc bishop of Valence, who both secretly favoured Calvinism: she also strengthened herself with the Huguenots, a party not to be contemned, whose number and insolence daily augmented.

Elated with theſe reſources, Catherine determined to acquit herſelf of the promiſe ſhe had made the king of Navarre and other Calviniſt lords, in granting them the free exerciſe of their religion: the conference of Poiſſy, and the edict of the month of January, which gave permiſſion to the new reformed to call aſſemblies, were the firſt effects of this promiſe, and indiſputable proofs of the bias Catherine of Medicis had to the new religion. But the Huguenots had ſcarce begun to congratulate each other on their increaſing power, when they ſaw their party weakened by the deſertion of the king of Navarre, who joined the Triumvirate.

This unexpected ſtep made a great noiſe at court, and was the means of attaching Catherine more firmly to the faction of the prince of Condé. The two parties had declared open war againſt each other; nothing was talked of but intrigues, ſecret attempts, and open enterprizes: the Triumvirate ſecured the king's perſon, and

conveyed him from Fontainbleau to Paris. Catherine wrote ſecretly to the prince of Condé, and conjured him not to abandon the king: notwithſtanding the artful and diſſembling turn of her letters, it was eaſy to penetrate into her favourable diſpoſition towards the Huguenots.

This conduct forced the Triumvirate to fix upon ſome violent reſolution againſt this princeſs; one of the moſt moderate was, to deprive her of the regency. Had they followed the council of the marſhal de St. André, ſhe would have been put to death: he affirmed there was no other means of cruſhing the oppoſite party. The duke de Guiſe declared againſt this reſolution; but he conſented that ſhe ſhould be confined, and deprived of the power of protecting the proteſtants.

Catherine having intelligence of this, ſecured the perſon of Charles IX. and carried him to Monceaux: ſhe would not have been more ſecure there than at Paris, if her good fortune had not preſerved her from the

the power of Montpeſat, chief magiſtrate of Poitou, who had promiſed the Triumvirate, in caſe he was ſeconded by the king of Navarre, to take her dead or alive. But it was that prince who, contrary to his intention, was the means of protecting this princeſs from the danger which threatened her: princes, like other men, are liable to weakneſſes.

The king of Navarre was in love with mademoiſelle Rouet, one of the queen's maids of honour; his ardor, which he was ſo little ſolicitous to conceal, ſo affected the queen of Navarre, that ſhe retired with the prince her ſon to Bearn.

The queen ſeeing the arrival of the king of Navarre at Monceaux, immediately ſuſpected that he had ſome ſecret motive for his journey: ſhe was not ignorant of Rouet's power over that prince's heart, and thought by that means to diſcover the reaſons which brought him to Monceaux; ſhe applied to Rouet with ſucceſs, who ſoon became miſtreſs of that monarch's ſecret.

The queen, instructed by her, took measures which ruined those of the Triumvirs: their suspicions immediately fell upon the king of Navarre; from that moment they considered him as a perfidious prince, more likely to destroy the credit and authority of a party which confided in him, than to give success to their enterprizes. Their suspicion was soon changed into certainty, and they determined never again to intrust him with the result of their important deliberations.

The prince of Condé, to give an air of equity to his proceedings, published a manifesto; he therein declared, that his only motives for taking arms were to defend himself from those who oppressed him, to restore to the king, and queen, mother to that prince, the liberty they were deprived of, and to secure the observance of the edict of January, which, he complained, had been violated in a manner equally cruel and perfidious by the massacre of Vassy; a name they gave to a rising in a city of Cham-

Champagne, where a company of Huguenots began a quarrel with ſome attendants of the duke de Guiſe; in which ſome Calviniſts were killed.

The prince of Condé imagining he had ſufficiently juſtified his revolt, ſeized Orleans, and ſeveral other cities.

Some lords of the court, either actuated by a zeal for the new religion, or hatred to the Guiſes, embraced his party, and engaged a great number of gentlemen to join them: thoſe whoſe change occaſioned the moſt noiſe, were Odet de Coligni, cardinal de Chatillon, the archbiſhop of Touloufe, and Jaques de Spifame biſhop of Nevers.

The cardinal de Chatillon reflected a luſtre on his dignities by his birth and underſtanding, equally elevated, enlightened, and cultivated. The admiral Coligni, and d'Andelot his brother, having embraced Calviniſm, had long and earneſtly ſolicited him to follow their example; but the eyes of Iſabella de Hautteville, a lady of Loré,

pleaded more forcibly than they: ſtruck with her charms, to them he ſacrificed his purple and fortune. Spifame, who was alſo in love with a pretty Huguenot, gave up his biſhoprick to obtain her: a fatal error, which was the occaſion of his death.

Jean de Montluc biſhop of Valence and Die in Dauphiné, and brother to the marſhal de Montluc, made his doctrine ſuſpected by an equivocal conduct; but his death juſtified his innocence: he was one of the moſt ſubtle politicians of his time: he had been a Jacobin. The queen of Navarre introduced him at court, where he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed as a ſuperior genius, and a man capable of great undertakings.

The miniſters of the Huguenot faction ſeeing their party extremely numerous, and ſupported by ſo illuſtrious a chief, as the prince of Condé, exhorted all of that ſect to take up arms in defence of the goſpel. They preached with ſuch ſucceſs, that in leſs than two months, the reformed had aſſembled an army. The prince of Condé,

Condé, not leſs zealous, exerted all his influence to gain the friendſhip of the emperor and all the Proteſtants of Germany; he diſpatched Spifame to perſuade them they had no other motive in taking up arms, than to reſcue the king from the captivity he was kept in by the Triumvirs; he produced Catherine's letters addreſſed to that prince, where ſhe conjures him to make uſe of every effort to reſcue her ſon from the tyranny of his enemies, and thoſe of the ſtate.

AT the time this envoy was negotiating in Germany, Briquemant and the vidame de Chartres were ſent into England by the prince of Condé and admiral Coligni, to treat with queen Elizabeth. This princeſs was a lady of the moſt extenſive genius; ſhe was daring, reſolute, and enterprizing, and joined to the moſt refined and ſubtle policy, an air of candour, ſincerity, and friendſhip, which effectually diſguiſed the views and ſecret workings of her policy; and in fine, was worthy to be ranked among the

greateſt monarchs. The prince of Condé, eager to ſtrengthen his party, omitted nothing to engage Elizabeth in his intereſt.

The ſtrong antipathy the Engliſh naturally bear to the French; their reſentment at being ſo diſgracefully driven out of France, the laſt key of which, Calais, the duke de Guiſe had juſt compelled them to yield up; the deſire they had to recover it, inclined their queen to liſten to the propoſals which Briquemant and the vidame de Chartres made her: foreſeeing the advantage ſhe might draw from an alliance with the Huguenots, ſhe agreed to aſſiſt them with men and money, on condition they would ſecure to her ſome fortified places for her troops, and engage to deliver that important place into her hands *.

How

* The terms the queen of England offered were thought very unreaſonable; ſhe promiſed to embrace the intereſts of the confederates, and to furniſh France with an army of eight thouſand infantry; a great quantity of artillery at her own expence; to continue theſe ſuccours during the war;

How powerful are the impulſes of paſſion! The prince of Condé, forgetting he had the honour of being deſcended from a race of kings, that his family by a ſeries of events, might reign in France, and even himſelf be deſtined to wear the crown, read without trembling, without horror, theſe demands of Elizabeth.

De Pienne and Morvilliers, both firmly attached to this prince, found it neceſſary

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war; and at the ſame time to cauſe her fleet to hover about the coaſts of Normandy and Brittany, that this diverſion might be powerful enough to divide the king's forces; but theſe promiſes were only to be performed on condition, that the confederates, on their part, ſhould engage to reſtore Calais, taken from her ſiſter Mary, and which had been long in poſſeſſion of the kings of England, her predeceſſors; and becauſe the Huguenots were not yet maſters of this place, ſhe inſiſted, that as a ſurety, they ſhould, in the mean time, yield to her Havre de Grace, and be permitted to introduce her garriſons in the cities of Dieppe and Rouen. Theſe terms, which had more of the haughtineſs of a conqueror, than the friendſhip of an ally, were agreed to.

D'Avila, vol. I. p. 78.

to.

to remind him, to his ſhame, that they were Frenchmen; they felt the ignominy of this propoſal, and how greatly it would be forgetting what they owed to themſelves, and carrying the ſpirit of revolt to an unpardonable exceſs, to ſubmit to ſuch diſgraceful terms; theſe reflections led them to remorſe.

De Pienne forſook the prince of Condé, and threw himſelf at the king's feet; who received him with all the marks of kindneſs his repentance deſerved. Morvilliers, who commanded in Rouen, upon receiving orders from the prince to permit the Engliſh to enter, abandoned the place, and retired to one of his eſtates in Picardy.

Catherine being informed of this negotiation, and the dreadful conditions of the treaty, felt the higheſt indignation at the prince of Condé; whom ſhe conſidered from that hour as the moſt cruel and dangerous enemy of France, as he had opened again the gates of that kingdom to the Engliſh, from whence they had been driven

driven with ſo much difficulty; but what moſt incenſed her againſt that prince, was his perfidy in making public the letters ſhe had wrote to him.

This treachery totally deprived him of Catherine's confidence, and was the occaſion of her deſerting the Huguenot party: She left them and went over to the Triumvirs; but only ſo far as the intereſt of her ambition permitted her. By her inſtigation it was determined to beſiege Rouen; the king of Navarre was appointed to command the army deſtined for the ſiege; the duke de Guiſe and the conſtable were with him: in his march to Rouen, the king threw ſome troops into all thoſe places, that were near enough to block up Orleans; his deſign was to ſhut out all proviſions from a city ſo important to the Huguenots; and at the ſame time to prevent the ſallies of the garriſon.

Rouen is ſituated upon the Seine; its principal fortification was the fort of St. Catherine; notwithſtanding the vigilance

and

and activity of the royal army, two thouſand Engliſh landed, and threw themſelves into it; twelve hundred men of the French infantry, choſen troops of the prince of Condé, four ſquadrons of cavalry, and above a hundred gentlemen volunteers, had ſhut themſelves up in Rouen, firmly reſolved to periſh in its defence. *

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* The beſieged were ſo much weakened, and their numbers ſo much diminiſhed by continual ſallies, and the vigorous aſſaults of the Catholics, that lord Montgomery thought it neceſſary, as the laſt reſource, to deſire ſuccours of the Engliſh in Havre de Grace, though he foreſaw the extreme hazard and difficulty that muſt attend their entrance into Rouen. The king's forces had taken poſſeſſion of Guillebeon and Harfleur, two towns ſituated between Rouen and Havre; upon the banks of the river, they had placed ſome large pieces of artillery, which by firing with terrible and inceſſant impetuoſity, might obſtruct the paſſage of large ſhips, and of thoſe ſmaller veſſels, which, aſſiſted by the flux of the ſea (that forces its way unto this place with extreme rapidity) ſhould, againſt the uſual current of the tide, attempt to approach Rouen. Notwithſtanding theſe almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, the

THE king of Navarre attacked the city, by the fort of St. Catherine; a hollow way that extended from Rouen to Paris, for-

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the Engliſh, eagerly impatient to aſſiſt their friends and countrymen, contemned all dangers; and paſſing the river by night, eſcaped the greateſt fury of the cannonade, which playing at random, and in obſcurity, frequently miſſed its aim: but by the advice of Campi, an Italian engineer, the Catholics had ſunk in the River, ſeveral veſſels filled with ſtone and ſand; theſe were ſo cloſely joined to each other by chains, and the paſſage of the river by this means ſo choaked up and encumbered, that none of the enemies larger veſſels of galleys, were able to move, and only ſome few ſmall barks, with extreme hazard and difficulty, vanquiſhed theſe obſtacles, and got ſafe to land; but theſe ſuccours being very inconſiderable, the neceſſities of the beſieged extremely preſſing, and no other viſible means of aſſiſting them; the Engliſh, urged on by humanity and deſpair, determined to make a vigorous effort; and drawing their ſhips cloſe together in a line (though a great number periſhed by the diſcharge of the artillery and artificial fires, and ſome were compelled to turn back) yet three galleys, and one large ſhip, broke through, and conveyed ſeven hundred infantry, ammunition, and money, ſafe to land.——D'AVILA's hiſtory of the civil wars of France, b. III. p. 112.

tunately

tunately covered the trenches near the fort. Monneins, who defended it, harraſſed the troops by frequent ſallies; he made one the beginning of October, as deſperate, as it was reſolutely and vigorouſly repulſed by young Sarlabons, who commanded the arquebuſiers, and by the chevalier Grillon, at the head of two hundred men; both equally animated with that true intrepidity, which the thirſt of glory inſpires. Monneins was, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, driven back into the trenches of the fort; had he been as prudent, as he was valiant, the taking of Rouen would have coſt the royal army a great expence of time and treaſure; but he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized.

The eighth of October, about noon, lord Villiers, who had lain before the trenches ever ſince day-break, obſerved the ramparts and half-moon unprovided with ſoldiers: aſtoniſhed at this unuſual appearance, he aſked a young officer, his priſoner, the reaſon; this young man replied, with

with great ſimplicity, that it was a cuſtom with the officers, to go at that hour and divert themſelves in the city, and that the ſoldiers followed their example.

Villiers was ſenſible he could not be too quick in giving the duke de Guiſe and the conſtable information of this: they agreed with the king, that they ſhould immediately take advantage of that favourable moment: ſcaling ladders were inſtantly ordered, to begin the aſſault. The duke de Guiſe loved the chevalier Grillon too well, and ſet too high a value on his bravery, to refuſe him the glory of ſignalizing himſelf on this occaſion.

An attack as ſudden as it was unexpected, ſtruck terror and amazement into the officers and ſoldiers, who (diſperſed in the city, and not having time to re-aſſemble) ſuffered the beſiegers to carry the fort ſword in hand. Villiers and Martigues, were the firſt that entered the fort; St. Colombe and Grillon, the half-moon.

The taking of the fort assured them of the city; but apprehensive of plunder, they would not take it by storm. The mountain of St. Catherine commanding the city, they erected a battery upon that rising ground; it extended itself across several streets, destroyed all the besiegeds intrenchments, and killed great numbers.

The wound which the king of Navarre received, as he was surveying the trenches, deferred the taking of the city; his shoulder-bone was fractured, and the wound from the first was pronounced mortal: he wanted to be conveyed to St. Maur, near Paris, but it was not judged safe for him to go further than Andely, where he expired in the forty-fifth year of his age. His character, which was inconsistent, made his conduct as various, as his will was uncertain; this yielding and pliant disposition, made it doubtful in what religion he died.

Rouen sustained the assault, protected by the intrenchments, which the ingenious Montgomery erected behind the breach; but

but the twenty-ſixth of October a ſecond aſſault, rendered ſucceſsful by the effects of a mine, put the beſiegers in poſſeſſion of the city. The duke de Guiſe had permitted St. Colombe and Grillon to give the fierceſt attack; Grillon diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, and St. Colombe was mortally wounded. Notwithſtanding the abſolute orders of the duke de Guiſe, Rouen fell a prey to all thoſe horrors, which a city taken by ſtorm, and abandoned to the rapacity of the ſoldiers, uſually ſuffers.

While all France was torn into different parties, and the lords of the court, and officers of the army, ſeduced by the ſpecious pretence of reformation, or attached to the intereſts of the chiefs of a faction, renounced, by a double infidelity, their religion and their king; the chevalier Grillon, ſeeking no guide, except his conſcience and honour, thought the only party a good man was at liberty to engage in, was that of his lawful ſovereign; he adhered inviolably,

lably, from principle, to this maxim: equally ſuperior to the advantageous offers he received, and the ſeduction of bad examples, he conſtantly followed the fortune of his king.

If calmer reflections had not checked his impetuoſity, he would have embraced the prince of Condé's faction: there was a great ſimilitude in their characters; both ardent, generous, brave, and enterprizing; full of valour and intrepidity. The reſemblance of diſpoſitions, is of all ſympathies the moſt powerful; from the diſcovery of qualities common to both, naturally ariſes a reciprocal eſteem, which quickly binds men to each other: but not thinking the motives which influenced the prince of Condé lawful ones, the chevalier de Grillon heſitated not a moment on the reſolution he ſhould take: he ſoon convinced the world, how important his fidelity and ſervices were to the ſtate: no action of any conſequence was performed in all thoſe wars, in which he did not confirm

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the idea the world had conceived of him. What he did at the taking of Calais, and at the ſiege of Rouen, and other places, was but a prelude to thoſe great actions, by which he afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

After negotiations ineffectually employed to reconcile the contending parties, and propoſitions of accommodation which the obſtinacy of the Huguenots fruſtrated; both ſides ſeemed in earneſt to carry on the war with vigour and reſolution. The prince of Condé had at firſt meditated to ſurpriſe Paris; but the reaſons which the admiral made uſe of to diſſuade him from attempting it, determined him to attack Dreux. He flattered himſelf that he might eaſily carry a place which the king's army was at too great diſtance to defend; but they were ſoon convinced of their error, when they found the catholic army aſſembled in the plains of Dreux reſolutely bent upon giving battle.

The Huguenots, with a haughty confidence, marched towards Dreux, as to a certain

certain conqueſt; but they were ſoon ſeized with terror, when they ſaw the royal army advance with a countenance equally reſolute and undiſmayed. They were ſenſible of the neceſſity either of engaging or reſolving upon an immediate retreat, which muſt expoſe them to the enemy's purſuit. The alternative appearing to them equally dangerous, they determined to hazard a battle. The Triumvirs, before they engaged, ſent a lord of the court to know the queen's pleaſure: Catherine, artful as themſelves, perceiving that the Triumvirs wanted the ſanction of her authority, that they might not be anſwerable for the event, and unwilling to take it upon herſelf, addreſſed herſelf to the king's nurſe, who was preſent; and ſaid, Here are generals of armies who want to be determined by a king of ten years old and his nurſe, whether they may ſafely engage; and then ordered the envoy to repeat to the generals what he had heard.

The king of Navarre being dead, the conſtable had the command of the army; he

he ranged it in order of battle, between Blainville and Epinay, as the marſhal de St. André had adviſed. Though the duke de Guiſe had no rank in an army commanded by the conſtable and the marſhal de St. André, yet at their deſire he headed the rear compoſed of veteran troops, whoſe bravery that prince had often experienced, and of ſeveral gentlemen, who had given ſignal proofs of their conduct and intrepidity: but the man on whom the duke moſt relied, was the chevalier de Grillon, who never yet diſgraced the opinion that prince had of him: his bravery and reſolution contributed greatly to the gaining of the victory.

The battle was begun between the conſtable and the prince of Condé: the prince's cavalry aſſaulted the Swiſs in flank; they received him with a bravery which deſerved to conquer; but notwithſtanding their vigorous defence, their ranks were broken; and this rout was followed by that of the whole body commanded by the conſtable, who

who was wounded and taken priſoner. The prince of Condé looked on this firſt ſucceſs as deciſive; but while he was congratulating himſelf on his victory, he received news that the marſhal de St. André was preparing to attack him. This general had aſſaulted the German horſe and foot, defeated them, and the few that eſcaped the ſlaughter that enſued, fled with the utmoſt precipitation. At this news, fear ſpread itſelf even among the prince's troops; in vain he attempted to ſtop and lead them to battle; menaces and intreaties were equally ineffectual: ſo that the prince of Condé, ſeeing himſelf abandoned and deſerted, was compelled to fly. What a terrible reverſe was this! not only victory, almoſt certain victory, eſcaped him, but his horſe wounded and fainting with fatigue, no alternative preſented itſelf but death or captivity.

In this extremity the chevalier de Grillon came up, followed by ſome gentlemen who had fought with him: he inſtantly recol-

recollected the prince of Condé; and at the ſame inſtant caſt his eyes on d'Anville the conſtable's ſon, who advanced at the head of a ſquadron. "Come hither, d'Anville," ſaid he (offering the prince his hand to aſſiſt him to riſe); "it is your duty to exchange "your father for this prince, and mine to "reverence the blood of our kings." D'Anville was the more ſenſible of his advantage in having the prince his priſoner, as by that he was aſſured of the conſtable his father's liberty. In the mean time the duke de Guiſe was engaged with the prince of Condé's infantry, which he had begun to cannonade. Grillon having rejoined him, ſoon perceived that the beginning of this combat was not favourable to the Catholics; but he at the ſame time obſerved, that the right wing of the Huguenot infantry was not ſupported; he inſtantly aſſembled together a number of volunteers, and reſolved upon that ſpot to attack the Huguenots in flank: he fell upon them and broke their ranks; animated and encou-

raged by his example, all who accompanied him followed it, and reſolutely braved death to ſuſtain a young warrior whoſe intrepidity they revered. They were all cut to pieces; and Grillon had the glory of changing the fortune of the day; but he purchaſed this victory by two wounds: he was not ſenſible of them till this action, ſo much to the advantage of the Catholics, and ſo glorious for the duke de Guiſe, was over: this generous prince had greatneſs of mind enough to diſclaim part of the glory of that enterprize, and publicly owned the ſhare which the prudence and valour of Grillon had in that illuſtrious action.

This victory was not leſs fatal to the victors than to the vanquiſhed. The Catholics loſt more perſons of rank than the Huguenots. The marſhal de St. André, who had led the way to victory, was killed, or rather aſſaſſinated by d'Aubigné, who from private reaſons was his enemy; by this unmanly vengeance he delivered the Calviniſt party from a very formidable adverſary.

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The death of the marſhal de St. André, and the taking of the conſtable, reſtored to the duke de Guiſe all the glory of this action, and the recompences of the court: he was inveſted with the command of the army; and ſo abſolute an authority had he in the council, that he influenced all the opinions according to his views. As a proof of this power, he cauſed the ſiege of Orleans to be reſolved on, notwithſtanding the reaſons Catherine and her party alleged in oppoſition to his.

Orleans was defended by the ſuburbs of Portereau; joined to the city by a very beautiful bridge, incloſed by two fortreſſes, which are called turrets. The beſieged, to ſtrengthen the fortifications of Portereau, had erected two great baſtions in the front: it was by one of theſe two baſtions that the duke de Guiſe began the ſiege. He wanted a ſhelter for his troops, that they might be the leſs expoſed to the rigours of winter; and for himſelf the conveniency of the river, that he might with more facility batter the

walls of the town: he had ſtationed upon the river Loire a great number of boats, filled with gabions and machines.

The day following the whole army appeared in order before Orleans. Had it not been for the bravery of d'Andelot, the beſiegers would that day have taken poſſeſſion of the turrets, and entered the ſuburb of Portereau.

While the deſtructive ſword of war, at the ſiege of Orleans, ſpared neither Catholic nor Calviniſt, both equally Frenchmen, and both alike animated againſt each other; the admiral, with the ſame frenzy, laid waſte Normandy; where the rage and rapacity of the ſoldiers, made him as inſenſible to the ſufferings of his fellow-citizens, as he was greedy and inſatiable after plunder. Thus was this wretched kingdom the theatre on which its ſons were deſtined to ſhed each other's blood, and be the inſtruments of each other's deſtruction.

The duke de Guiſe in laying ſiege to Orleans, had formed a deſign to ſtrike at the

the very root of Calviniſm; of which this city was at once the center and defence: he had taken his meaſures with ſo much prudence and circumſpection, that there was no doubt of his ſucceſs; a conqueſt which muſt have reduced the Huguenots to the laſt extremity; but the death of that great man was the triumph of their party. This prince was aſſaſſinated juſt as he was upon the point of taking poſſeſſion of Orleans.

The aſſaſſin was one Poltrot, a gentleman of Angoumois. Some of the moſt zealous and powerful among the Calviniſts had inſtigated him to the commiſſion of a crime, which deprived the Catholics and the whole kingdom of their ſtrongeſt ſupport.

Grillon's grief was extreme: in the duke de Guiſe he loſt the model he had preſcribed to himſelf to follow; whoſe talents for war he ſtudied with an unwearied attention; whoſe character he loved and revered the more, as he flattered himſelf he

had the ſeeds of thoſe virtues and great qualities he admired in the duke de Guiſe.

Theodore de Beze and the admiral de Coligni were impeached on the depoſition of Poltrot. The admiral endeavoured to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicion by an apology which he publiſhed; but the world in general were not convinced that he was innocent.

In the duke de Guiſe, religion loſt a zealous defender, his country a protecting friend, and the king a great general. The Huguenots had long ſought his death; at Rouen he narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſoldier, who was put under arreſt, and carried before the duke: when the ſoldier had confeſſed, the duke aſked him, what had influenced him to this deſperate attempt? I had determined to kill you, ſaid the fellow, that I might deliver my religion from one of its moſt formidable adverſaries. If your religion, replied the duke, teaches you to aſſaſſinate one who never injured you; mine, agreeably to the genius

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of the Goſpel, commands me to pardon you: go, and judge from hence which of the two religions is the moſt perfect.

The univerſal eſteem the duke de Guiſe had acquired, made him even regretted by thoſe who received advantage from his death. Strangers as well as French, even thoſe who while they reverenced were envious of his great qualities, beheld with horror an aſſaſſin who dared to touch the life of this prince. The ſoldiers lamented as if they had loſt a father; deſolate, and frantic with grief, they ran about the camp exclaiming, We have loſt a general that never can be equalled; a general who loved us; who was always careful to expoſe us to no dangers but thoſe to which he himſelf led the way.

The undiſſembled grief of the officers and ſoldiers, was at once the moſt artleſs and eloquent panegyric of this amiable prince. He uſed to viſit the wounded, and give them money; the indigent among the officers were ſure of being relieved. He

left his eſtate charged with immenſe debts; an undoubted proof that his hands were as pure, as his ſoul was great and diſintereſted: for it is as much to the honour of one who has been inveſted with the chief employments in a ſtate, to die incumbered with debts, as it would be diſhonourable for a private perſon to contract any beyond the income of his fortune.

The duke de Guiſe poſſeſſed every virtue requiſite to form the real hero: a courage ſedately intrepid, made him always ſuperior to difficulties; a foreſight and penetration ſo piercing, as to ſee at one glance all the conſequences of an action. His diſpoſition was at once mild and gentle, firm and reſolute; his underſtanding was enlightened; his views extenſive; his reaſoning deep and ſolid: he was ſo punctually exact in the execution of his ſchemes, that in what related to the war he would ſee and do all himſelf; ſo calmly brave, that nothing could intimidate him. To theſe ſuperior qualities he joined a tender and feeling heart:

heart: a patron and protector of merit; he rather pitied than blamed those who wanted it; and was readier to accuse nature for denying them those qualities which would have made them worthy of his esteem. Such was the prince justly intitled Great duke de Guise.

Charles IX. to recompence the duke's services, gave prince Joinville his son, all the employments which his father had possessed: that of master of the king's horse was thought by some courtiers too important to be intrusted to so young a man; they represented this to the king, who replied with warmth, He will grow older.

The death of the duke de Guise, by weakening the power of the Triumvirate, strengthened that of Catherine of Medicis; who finding no one in the council capable of opposing her views, became absolute mistress of affairs. Peace was the first exertion of her authority; articles were settled, and drawn up in form of edicts at Amboise, in the month of March.

The principal conditions were, that thoſe cities which the Huguenots were maſters of ſhould be given up to the king; that they ſhould reſtore to the Catholics the churches they had been robbed of; that the priſoners of war ſhould be ſet at liberty; that in each ſeneſchal's juriſdiction a city ſhould be appointed for the Huguenots, where they might be permitted to preach, the city and prevoté of Paris only excepted; that all the paſt ſhould be forgotten; and the king's ſubjects, of both religions, ſhould vigorouſly unite to expel ſtrangers out of the kingdom. It was in conſequence of this laſt article, that all the troops aſſembled in one army laid ſiege to Havre, under the command of the conſtable.

This conqueſt crowned the regency of the queen, who ſeeing her ſon in his fourteenth year, had him declared of age *: he had been crowned two years before at Rheims: this prince, upon that occaſion, gave a

* Auguſt 14, 1563.

proof

proof of his quick and lively wit by a reply he made the queen his mother. Catherine apprehending her ſon would not have patience to ſupport the tedious ceremonies, propoſed to have them ſhortened; but Charles anſwered, That he would with tranſport ſubmit to this trouble every time that a crown was to be the prize.

All the great men of the ſtate were preſent at the ceremony: Odet de Chatillon, who was lately married, appeared there with all the enſigns of a cardinal.

As ſoon as Charles was declared of age, the queen prevailed with him to viſit the provinces, in order to heal thoſe diſorders which the civil wars had occaſioned.

At Rouſſillon in Dauphiné the king publiſhed that famous edict, which fixes the firſt day of the year, which formerly began at Eaſter, to the firſt of January: another was publiſhed to reſtrain the privileges granted the Huguenots by the edict of peace made at Pontoiſe. From thence the king went to Avignon: this city gave the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt marks of the affectionate attachment it had ever preſerved for the houſe of its kings. Charles was ſenſibly affected at theſe artleſs tranſports of joy, and expreſſed in a very particular manner to Berton, the pleaſure it gave him to have in his ſervice a man of their family, whoſe firſt attempt in arms promiſed ſuch a glorious progreſs.

After making ſome ſtay at Avignon, the king went to Languedoc: the great quantity of ſnow which fell detained the court eight days at Carcaſſonne.

At Bayonne the king met the queen of Spain his ſiſter, attended by the duke of Alba. The frequent conferences Charles and Catherine held with this queen and the Spaniſh miniſter, increaſed the doubts and ſuſpicions of the Huguenots, already extremely diſcontented with the edict of Rouſſillon: there was no doubt but war would be once more kindled; the jealouſy and animoſity which divided the Guiſes, was too viſible; and nothing but the reconciliation of thoſe families could put an end to the diſſen-

diſſentions by which the ſtate was torn in pieces.

CATHERINE was poſſibly in earneſt in the pains ſhe took to promote this union; but no one ſeemed diſpoſed to ſecond her intentions. They neglected the young duke de Guiſe, whom it was of the utmoſt importance to engage in their intereſts: this prince at ſixteen years of age was adorned with every grace of mind and perſon; his ſtature was tall and majeſtic; his countenance frank and open; and though he had an air of haughtineſs in his appearance, it was ſoftened with a ſweetneſs and affability which gained him the love of all who approached him. He was ſtrong, vigorous, laborious, and indefatigable; wiſe, generous, and beneficent: a prudence natural to him made him circumſpect in all his words. He had a courage ſuperior to danger; quick and active in taking advantage of critical circumſtances; to a genius capable of forming great enterprizes he joined reſolution enough to bring them to perfection;

tion; ſecret in his deſigns, which it was impoſſible to penetrate. In him every virtue of his father ſeemed to revive, whoſe glory he would not only have equalled but ſurpaſſed, if, like him, he had never drawn his ſword but in defence of his religion and lawful ſovereign; but his ambition, and too eager a deſire of revenge, threw a ſhade over his character.

He had always looked upon the admiral as the author of his father's death: a principle of policy had hitherto prevailed with him to yield to the earneſt intreaties of the queen, and conſent to a reconciliation: this paſt at Moulins. The queen, who had always kept terms with him, was grown more obnoxious to the chiefs of the Calviniſt party, ſince thoſe myſterious conferences ſhe held at Bayonne with the queen of Spain and the duke of Alba; the ſubject of which never tranſpired. Catherine's pretence for this interview was, the extreme deſire ſhe had to ſee and embrace her daughter the queen of Spain; but the Calviniſts

viniſts ſoon penetrated through this diſguiſe.

THE prince of Condé and the admiral were ſo much diſguſted at theſe intrigues, that they ſecretly entered into new engagements with the proteſtants of Germany: they were apprehenſive that a ſcheme was forming to deſtroy the Huguenot party at one blow; that this was the concealed motive of the duke of Alba in raiſing troops. In order to ſound the queen, the prince of Condé, in preſence of the king, expreſſed his ſurpriſe at France's remaining inactive, while Spain had an army on foot: on this occaſion he repeated a maxim univerſally received, and ſtrictly obſerved; That a prince was obliged to arm, when his neighbour ſet him the example. He ſaid it was not ſafe to rely upon the Spaniards; that the duke of Alba's pretence to keep the Low Countries in awe, was probably only a veil to conceal ſome pernicious deſign againſt France: he added, that if the king permitted him, he would engage to

arm

arm all the religious ſects in the kingdom, and oppoſe the duke of Alba's progreſs.

The king examined theſe propoſals of the prince of Condé, and diſcovered in them a daring and ſeditious liberty; but, inſtructed by Catherine in the art of diſſembling, he knew how to reſtrain his reſentment; and affecting to approve the prince of Condé's diſcourſe, he ordered ſix thouſand Swiſs to be raiſed, which were commanded by colonel Fiffer, an officer of merit, and inviolably attached to the Catholic religion; but at the ſame time the king, in concert with the queen his mother, gave the prince of Condé new cauſe for diſcontent, which was the ſource of new diſorders.

The queen, in order to gain the regency, had won over that prince to her intereſts by the promiſe of making him lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but this promiſe was made with a ſettled deſign to be broken, apprehending that the exerciſe of that charge would give him too unlimited an authority.

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The prince, abuſed, incenſed, and diſguſted at this conduct of the queen, ſeized the opportunity of the duke of Alba's arming, to claim the execution of her promiſe. The conſtable was the only one who had a right to oppoſe it; but he yielded to the pretentions of this prince.

CATHERINE, ever fertile in reſources, avoided this ſtroke by raiſing the prince of Condé a powerful competitor in the duke of Anjou, the king's brother: ſhe inſinuated to him that he was now of an age to eſtabliſh a reputation; that a prince like him ought to be warmed by the glorious ambition of becoming a great general; that he had now a favourable opportunity of attaining this pre-eminence by placing himſelf at the head of the armies with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: ſhe told him the prince of Condé had aſked that poſt; but if he obtained it, the duke of Anjou, born to the throne of France, and brother to the monarch who now filled it, would have the diſgrace of either remaining

maining idle and inactive, or commanded by a general born to obey him.

This artful diſcourſe of Catherine had the effect ſhe intended; it rouſed the ſlumbering ambition of that young prince, inſpired him with an eager emulation, and excited in his heart a ſecret indignation againſt the prince of Condé, for aſking for a charge that he alone, as brother to the king, had a right to obtain.

Some time after the duke of Anjou, full of theſe thoughts, met the prince of Condé at ſupper with the queen; he took him by the hand, and led him to a window, where he haughtily upbraided him for his inſolence in daring to aſpire to the poſt of lieutenant-general, when he, as brother to the king, had an inconteſtable right to the firſt charge of the ſtate: then looking at him with a menacing air, and putting his hand on his ſword, he added, if you ſtill perſiſt in claiming this poſt, the duke of Anjou will give you cauſe to remember it, by making you as deſpicable in reality, as you want

want to appear great. The air of diſdain which accompanied theſe words inſpired the prince of Condé with the reſolution to revenge himſelf on the king and queen; whoſe ſecret artifices he penetrated through the duke of Anjou's treatment: he immediately quitted the court, and giving himſelf up intirely to reſentment, he, in conjunction with the admiral, formed the audacious project of carrying off the king.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE Chevalier DE GRILLON.

BOOK II.

THE court was then at Monceaux; on the intelligence they received of the prince of Condé's deſigns they retired to Meaux; but not thinking themſelves in a place of ſafety, Meaux being neither fortified or furniſhed with ammunition, it was reſolved to conduct the king to Paris. The few troops they had, made them with reaſon apprehend that the admiral and the prince of Condé would take advantage

advantage of their weakneſs, and ſeize the king: if the hazard was great, that of ſtaying at Meaux equalled it: Piffer determined the irreſolute; and charged himſelf with conducting the king in ſafety to Paris.

He drew his troops into a ſquare battallion, placing the king and court in the center, and arrived at Paris in ſight of the conſpirators, who durſt not hazard an engagement. The king was ſo much incenſed at the plot, and particularly at the admiral, that he vowed to take a ſignal vengeance on him: he never afterwards called to mind this enterprize with temper, nor without expreſſing the greateſt deſire to puniſh the guilty.

The Huguenots having miſſed their blow, ſeized ſome cities, and proceeded to act in every reſpect as revolted ſubjects: the queen, unable to cruſh them at once, had recourſe to negotiation; but the parties being mutually exaſperated againſt each other, the conferences were unſucceſsful, and

and it was thought neceſſary to prepare for war.

In a few days the ſtreets of Paris were crouded with rebels; and the horrors of famine determined the Catholics to raiſe the blockade: the two armies ranged in order of battle, in the plains of St. Denis, engaged with an ardor for victory, excited rather by mutual hatred, than the love of glory; but the chevalier de Grillon, who knew no other inſpirer, performed exploits upon this occaſion, which made him worthy the title of A man without fear: his undaunted intrepidity hurrying him to the moſt hazardous attempts, he received a wound, which diſabled him from fighting, at the very inſtant when victory declared itſelf in favour of the Catholics, who remained maſters of the field; they obtained this advantage by the loſs of a great number of men; and above all, the conſtable de Montmorency; he received a ſtroke of a piſtol from the hands of Stuart, a Scotch gentleman, which put a period to a

life

life that great man had illuſtrated by his fidelity to his king, zeal for religion, and conſummate experience in the management of affairs; unſucceſsful in war, chance or fortune had been almoſt always his enemy; he was ſometimes taken priſoner in battles, in which his country was victorious.

After his death, the office of conſtable was ſuppreſſed; and to check the ambition of thoſe, who might aſpire to the command of the army, the queen cauſed the duke of Anjou to be declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom; though he was but ſixteen, he ſoon gave evident proofs that he was worthy of it.

The weak and defenceleſs condition to which both Catholics and Huguenots were reduced by the battle of St. Dreux, had half extinguiſhed the flames of war; which the hatred and mutual jealouſy of the two parties rekindled as ſoon as they ſaw their troops in a condition to take the field. The duke of Anjou, eager to acquire a reputation by ſome ſhining exploit, ſought an occaſion

caſion to attack the Huguenots. He at laſt found one near Jarnac, by the aſſiſtance of a ſtratagem which would have done honour to a general grown old in the art of war.

The duke of Anjou by a feigned march forced the admiral (a general equally artful and experienced) to come to an engagement. This was the firſt time that Grillon had the duke for a witneſs of his valour, and daring exploits.

In this celebrated battle, which the Calviniſts loſt, fell the prince of Condé, by the ſtroke of a piſtol which he received from Monteſquiou, captain of the Swiſs under the command of the duke of Anjou. The prince of Condé, by his valour, experience, and ability in the military art; by a calmneſs, and preſence of mind, which never deſerted him in the moſt perilous enterprizes, was equal to the greateſt generals of antiquity; but all theſe great and eminent qualities were ſullied by his revolt.

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The duke of Anjou lay at Jarnac, in the ſame houſe where the prince of Condé had lain the preceding night; he had the cruel curioſity to ſee the body of that unfortunate prince carried upon an aſs to the Catholic army; where this great man, this illuſtrious hero, was expoſed, as an object of contempt to thoſe, who had once trembled at his very name *.

Immediately after the battle, the duke of Anjou ſent the chevalier Grillon, with the count de Briſſac, and the viſcount Pompadour, to take poſſeſſion of Mucidan, a ſmall city of Perigord; it was taken, and Grillon, though wounded, had all the glory of that action; Briſſac and Pompadour being both killed at the beginning. It is probably upon this occaſion, that Grillon was made colonel of horſe; the taking of Mucidan being mentioned in his commiſ-

* An epitaph was made on the death of the prince of Condé, in which his obſtinate adherence to Calviniſm is taken notice of.

ſion, ſigned by Charles IX. and dated the ſeventh of May, 1569.

The loſs of the prince of Condé, irreparable to the Huguenots, was followed by that of d'Andelot, brother to the admiral, and one of the moſt zealous ſupporters of Calviniſm; but they were ſoon made amends for theſe loſſes, by the arrival of the young king of Navarre, worthy to ſupply the place of the prince of Condé his uncle. Henry declared himſelf chief of the Huguenot faction, who ſaw him at their head, with as much delight as confidence: he had already given an earneſt of what he afterwards proved, as experienced a general, as he was a great king *. His couſin Henry de Bourbon followed him.

These two princes, to give a colour to their revolt, offered to lay down their arms, on condition they might be granted an entire liberty of conſcience, and ſuffered to ſubmit the conteſted points, to the deciſion

* Henry IV.

of

of a general council, which was free; but the court, offended at this language, and perſuaded, that the Huguenots had no deſign to keep their word, anſwered, That it ill became armed ſubjects to preſume to make terms with their king: this determined the enemies to obtain by force, what they could not by compoſition. They attacked the royal army at Roche-Abeille in Limoſin; the combat was obſtinate, and their loſs at leaſt equalled that of the Royaliſts; the neceſſity they were under to ſpare their ſoldiers and officers, was the reaſon they choſe to employ themſelves chiefly in ſieges; hoping by this means, to ſacrifice fewer men, and be more ſucceſsful than in pitched battles.

THEY carried their views as far as Poitiers, with an intention to fix in that city, the ſeat of Calviniſm; from whence they muſt have commanded all Poitou, and the neighbouring provinces.

THIS project was very great, but the execution of it was not eaſy; the count

de Lude *, governor of Poitou, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions, in the reigns of Henry II. and Francis II. His prudence and valour made up for the diſadvantageous ſituation of the place, ill capable of reſiſtance; they had but three thouſand regular troops; but he was ſupported by a great number of perſons of rank and merit; all equally animated with the commendable zeal of defending the rights of their religion and ſovereign.

The arrival of the duke de Guiſe, attended by the marquis de Mayenne, his brother, ſeveral lords of diſtinction, and twelve hundred horſe, ſtrengthened the gariſon. The chevalier de Grillon was of the number of thoſe who entered Poitiers; the count de Lude knew him to be an officer fit to be employed in an exigency; and expreſſed his joy at being joined by a man, whoſe acknowleged valour would encourage the beſieged, and animate them

* Guy de Daillon.

by

by his example, in thoſe critical occaſions on which victory depends.

The admiral came before Poitiers with the cannon he had drawn from Rochelle; he began the attack by the fauxbourg of St. Lude; the reſiſtance he met with, convinced him, that he ſhould find ſome difficulty in becoming maſter of the city; he was confirmed in this opinion, by the frequent ſallies (which were equal to combats) made by the gariſon, with Grillon always at their head, whoſe preſence they ſeemed to look on, as a certain preſage of victory.

The ſiege of Poitiers was one of the moſt memorable of that time; by the efforts the Huguenots made to take that place, by the vigorous defence of the beſieged, and by the valour of thoſe great men, of both parties, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves at it. The duke of Anjou, who wanted to have the glory of raiſing the ſiege of Poitiers, made a feigned attack upon Chatelleraud; the admiral wiſhing for a pretence to abandon his enterprize

without diſgrace, flew to the ſuccour of that place, which the duke had no intention to attack.

The duke de Guiſe, during the ſiege, gave proofs of that prudence, valour, and ability he owed to his name. The world looked on him as the illuſtrious inheritor of his father's virtues; and, like him, born to reach the ſummit of glory. He went to Tours to pay his duty to the king; who gave him a ſignal mark of his eſteem, by appointing him a ſeat in the privy council, which was a means of animating and encouraging the partiſans of that houſe.

About this time Charles IX. thought fit to confer a new diſtinction on the family of Grillon, who had the honour to be allied to him, by ſending to Claude Grillon, chief of that name, the ribbon of his order, tho' he had never been out of Avignon.

The duke of Anjou, elated with having already rendered himſelf thus formidable to the Huguenots, at an age when princes are commonly given up to the moſt trifling amuſe-

amuſements, reſolved to ſeek the enemy, and compel them to fight. In vain they repreſented to this impetuous prince, that without running the leaſt hazard he had it in his power to reduce the enemy to the laſt extremity, by ſurrounding them in the plains of Moncontour: impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a new victory, and ſupported by ſeveral young lords, who, in complaiſance to him, were guided by his opinion, he determined to give battle.

THE admiral, on his ſide, wiſhed it with equal ardor; his reaſons for this were preſſing and urgent. The ſoldiers of Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc, who compoſed a part of his army, diſpirited with the labours they had inceſſantly undergone, and exhauſted by the fatigues of war, eagerly aſked permiſſion to return to their houſes; and importunately demanded that this religious war might be decided by a battle.

THE admiral was under continual apprehenſions that thoſe of his party (convinced of the diſgrace and hazard of their revolt)

would be induced to abandon him, and even give him up to the duke of Anjou, in order to eſcape the puniſhment they had merited, by ſacrificing the chief of the rebellion. Add to this, the admiral, by the defeat of the Catholics, hoped to be abſolute maſter of the duke's perſon; and by this means revenge himſelf upon Catherine of Medicis, who had deſigned to poiſon him, and had condemned him to death by a diſgraceful edict; by which he was declared a felon, rebel, and guilty of high treaſon, and had a price ſet upon his head. Thus the two parties were united in one deſign: both armies were ranged in order of battle in ſuch a poſition, as that all the troops might engage at the ſame inſtant; as in effect it happened.

All hiſtorians agree, that both parties fought with an obſtinacy and intrepidity, which equally deſerved to be rewarded by victory: it was ſome time doubtful, but it at length declared itſelf in favour of the Catholics. The Huguenot cavalry was put

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in diſorder; the Lanſquenets had their ranks pierced through, broken, and intirely defeated: the enemies had now no ſecurity but flight.

The duke of Anjou, eager to take advantage of their terror and diſorder, propoſed to purſue them in perſon; but Grillon, prudent as well as brave, ſaid to him, with a warmth and anxiety which ſtrongly expreſſed his zeal and affection for the blood of his king, Stay, prince, reflect that you are anſwerable for your perſon to the ſtate; and ſuffer me to gather theſe remaining laurels, which are not worthy to be mixed with thoſe you have already reaped. When he had ſaid theſe words, he flew to head thoſe troops which were in purſuit of the vanquiſhed; of whom he made a great ſlaughter.

Upon this occaſion, after giving a thouſand glorious proofs of his courage, he gave a very ſignal one of his generoſity. A Huguenot ſoldier, believing that in Grillon he ſhould deſtroy one of the great ſupports of

the Catholics, reſolved to kill him, to revenge the death of ſo many Calviniſts, to whom the arm of this great warrior had been ſo fatal: the ſoldier concealed himſelf in a place from whence he could put his deſign in execution, knowing that Grillon, when he returned from the purſuit of the fugitives, muſt paſs that way: the ſoldier fired, but only wounded him in the arm; Grillon, incenſed at this treachery, ran and ſeized the aſſaſſin; but at the inſtant his ſword was lifted up, the ſoldier fell at his feet, and aſked his life: Thank my religion, replied Grillon, and bluſh that it is not thine: Go, I grant thee thy life; and could there be any reliance on the word of one who can be a rebel to his king, and equally faithleſs to religion, I would demand thy promiſe never again to draw a ſword, but in the ſervice of thy lawful ſovereign. The ſoldier confounded, and penetrated at this inſtance of mercy, ſolemnly vowed to be no longer of the number of the rebels, and to return to the Catholics. The chevalier de Grillon's

clemency

clemency received all the praiſes it deſerved; but few of thoſe who applauded it, were able to imitate it.

THE duke of Anjou's victory was complete: the fame this prince gained was the more illuſtrious, as he expoſed himſelf, like a common ſoldier, to the moſt imminent dangers; but he neglected to draw all the advantages which might have reſulted from his victory. Had he followed Grillon's counſel, and ſuffered him cloſely to purſue the admiral, he muſt have been abſolute maſter of his perſon, whether incloſed in the walls of a city, or at the head of his troops, had he dared to hazard another engagement with the duke of Anjou. But this prince amuſed himſelf with taking cities; and by that means gave the Huguenots time to re-aſſemble the ſcattered remains of their army, and to make new levies.

THE reduction of all Poitiers was part of the fruits of the battle of Moncontour. The duke of Anjou, who wanted likewiſe

to

to make himſelf maſter of Xaintonge, immediately laid ſiege to St. Jean d'Angely, a well-fortified city, defended by a good gariſon, commanded by captain Pilef, an officer eſteemed by both parties. Charles IX. and Catherine of Medicis repaired to the camp: the king choſe to be preſent at the ſiege, and the queen was impatient to ſee and embrace the duke of Anjou; a ſon whom ſhe tenderly loved, and whoſe ſucceſſes had made him dearer to her than ever.

Biron marſhal de camp ſummoned the city to ſurrender; but captain la Ramiere replied in the name of the gariſon, that they would never give up the town till a peace to the advantage of all France was concluded upon. In order to convince the beſiegers that they were able to defend the place, the gariſon made frequent ſallies; one of the moſt glorious for them was on the eighteenth day of October. Captain la Motte, at the head of fifteen hundred men, ſuddenly and reſolutely penetrated to the ſuburbs

ſuburbs of Onis; where ſeveral regiments were ſtationed: the enemy ſurpriſed them, killed eighty ſoldiers, made two officers of foot, and forty arquebuſiers, priſoners of war.

The Catholics, ſtung and exaſperated at this loſs, began on the twenty-ſeventh to play ſeveral batteries they had erected againſt the wall that extends from the gates of Niert to Onis: they ſoon made a conſiderable breach; but the beſieged repaired it with ſo much diligence in the night-time, that they were obliged to make a freſh one to give the aſſault.

The combat was reſolute: Grillon, who obſerved that the king was ſpectator of the aſſault, was the firſt to mount the breach. The beſieged, amazed and terrified at a valour bordering upon the miraculous, were repulſed with ſo much vigour and reſolution, that Grillon, at the head of his troops, ſaw himſelf maſter of the place, which the king and the duke of Anjou entered, covered with thoſe laurels which he had reaped for them.

In this ſervice, however, the intrepid hero received a wound which was at firſt thought dangerous; the news of which gave Charles IX. the utmoſt grief and anxiety; declaring that he trembled at the proſpect of loſing a warrior, as uſeful to his glory, as he was firmly attached to his intereſt.

Two hours after the taking of St. Jean d'Angely, Charles went to pay Grillon a viſit; and giving him his hand, which he kiſſed, ſaid, Your valour, zeal for my ſervice, and the ſucceſs which has followed your glorious exploits, are above praiſe: then embracing him, he added, at taking leave, Adieu, *brave* Grillon! A name he always with the juſteſt title preſerved.

This hero, ever ſimple in his manners, diffident and unaſſuming in his behaviour, thanked the king with a graceful modeſty; which ſeemed to render him ſtill more worthy of the univerſal eſteem he enjoyed.

The enemies were not at all diſcouraged at the loſs of St. Jean d'Angely; whatever advan-

advantage the king's troops gained over them, they were neither diſmayed or perplexed. The admiral, the oracle of the reformed party, kept up their ſpirits with the hopes of an approaching happy revolution; and in their moſt terrible reverſes was never at a loſs for reſources. The queen eaſily conceived the impoſſibility of reducing a general by force, who, in proportion as his army diminiſhed, knew how to augment and repair it.

ACCORDING to her accuſtomed policy, ſhe had recourſe to an expedient from which ſhe promiſed herſelf a greater aſſurance of victory, than from cities taken, or battles won, againſt an enemy ſo fertile in reſources: ſhe formed the deſign to obtain that by art, which ſhe could not effect by force; and by that means to deſtroy this chief of the rebels. To baniſh the miſtruſt and ſuſpicion common to all the Huguenot party, ſhe offered conditions ſo extremely advantageous, that they could not reaſonably refuſe them.

THOUGH

THOUGH the admiral was always upon his guard againſt the intrigues of the queen, he believed ſhe was now ſincere in her wiſhes for peace: ſhe neglected none of thoſe artifices which might attract and fix his doubtful and half-wavering confidence: ſhe made him offers which went even beyond his hopes: ſhe gave the new reformed all the indulgence they could wiſh for, and made them ſo many advantageous propoſals, that ſhe induced them at length to accept of peace.

THE two parties, equally weary of war, and the calamities inſeparable from it, languiſhed for that repoſe which had hitherto ſeemed to fly from them; and the queen, who ſecretly meditated the means of cruſhing at one blow all the chiefs of the revolt, lulled their credulity by the utmoſt complaiſance, and frequently ſacrificed the intereſts of the Catholics to theirs.

WAR being at an end, or rather ſuſpended, Catherine, who had procured peace for no other reaſon than that ſhe might the more

more ſecurely ruin the Huguenots, thought the only way to obliterate the peoples remembrance of paſt calamities, was to entertain them with a variety of ſpectacles and diverſions. The court ſeemed wholly taken up with tournaments, races, and balots; which the queen varied to amuſe them, in order the more effectually to conceal the project ſhe was meditating; which in the end occaſioned ſo many calamities.

GRILLON, whoſe valour loved neither repoſe nor inaction, ſeeing his country in poſſeſſion of peace, quitted it, to perform a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His riſing ambition ſoon found an opportunity of acquiring that glory which he ſo eagerly ſought after, and which had recompenced his valour in the defence of his religion, and his king.

SELIM II. was the inheritor of the power and authority of Soliman II. but not of thoſe illuſtrious and amiable qualities which had made him great, and his name terrible. Selim was an effeminate prince, plunged in volup-

voluptuouſneſs, and devoted to the pleaſures of his ſeraglio. This luxurious and inactive life made him as unworthy of the reputation of his father, as he was incapable of preſerving his conqueſts: but the ambition of ſome baſhas rouſed his; and forced him upon more vigorous reſolutions than were expected from him. They determined him to undertake the conqueſt of Cyprus: the moſt prevailing motive with him for this undertaking was, that he might be maſter of an iſland which produced good wine.

The armament of the Porte, for the execution of this project, ſpread terror through all Italy. The Venetians particularly were greatly alarmed: they believed themſelves irrecoverably loſt, imagining this threatening ſtorm was directed againſt them. They implored the ſuccour of almoſt all the Chriſtian princes; but obtained none, except of the pope and the king of Spain, whoſe intereſt it was to defend them: but the ſlow arrival of theſe ſuccours gave time to the Ottoman

Ottoman army, whoſe attempts might have been rendered ineffectual, to take Nicotie, the capital of the iſland of Famagouſte, another city, whoſe reſolute reſiſtance ſerved only to give a proof of the ability of him who commanded it, and expoſe him to the cruelty of the Turkiſh general.

THIS barbarian made him ſuffer the ſevereſt tortures. This brave general was Marcus Antoninus Bragadin, one of the greateſt men of his time: contrary to his advice the town capitulated. Muſtapha, enraged at the loſs of fifty thouſand Turks, to revenge himſelf on Bragadin, ordered his ears to be cut off, and his noſe to be ſlit; and after leaving him three days without having his wounds dreſſed, commanded him to be placed upon the deck of a galley, expoſing him thereby to the deriſion of the Turks; and then had him flead alive.

GREAT was the terror and aſtoniſhment of the Venetians, when they had intelligence that the iſland of Cyprus was taken; they believed themſelves already in the power of the

the Ottomans: all the Chriſtian princes were alarmed; pope Pius V. conjured them by the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, to unite together againſt the enemy of the faith. But his repreſentations were addreſſed to princes diſcouraged and intimidated by the conqueſts of the Turks, and by an armament powerful enough to ſubdue whoever dared to take up arms. Their advice was to endeavour to ſtop their rapid progreſs by negotiation, rather than by force. They exaggerated the danger of attacking a power ſo formidable. This timidity ſpread itſelf among thoſe whoſe power extended no further than their zeal and ſword. Thus ſovereign and people were ſeized with an univerſal panic.

GRILLON, whom piety had conducted to Malta to perform his pilgrimage; and whoſe ardent zeal wanted neither ſolicitation nor command, where he had any proſpect of being ſerviceable to religion, or of meeting with any occaſion of diſtinguiſhing himſelf; viſited all the ſtates of Italy; and under the favour

favour of a family-name renowned, as his was, for many ages, introduced himſelf into the cabinets of princes. He rouſed and animated them by a repreſentation of the imminent dangers to which all Chriſtendom was expoſed. He combated, with the utmoſt ſtrength of reaſon, thoſe ſpecious pretences, which a miſtaken prudence, and a timidity ſo contrary to their true intereſts, weakly oppoſed to his arguments. He talked to them of the loſs of Cyprus; and added, that it was yet time to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe horrid barbarians. He concluded, that upon an occaſion where the intereſts of religion were concerned, it was in effect betraying them, to remain inactive ſpectators of the events of a war, which would make the Ottomans triumph over all Chriſtendom.

THESE ſtrong and ſolid reaſons, delivered with that warmth and zeal which excited them, revived the hopes and courage of thoſe princes whom he had ſtung into a ſenſe of ſhame for their indolence and inaction. He had already determined them to take up arms,

arms, when they were ſolicited to it by other powers, who offered to join their forces with theirs.

A LEAGUE was concluded; and they began with the utmoſt expedition to equip a fleet which ſhould be capable to check the progreſs of the Turks. This league animated all the Chriſtion ſtates: a great number of perſons of quality preſſed to be permitted to ſignalize their zeal for the Chriſtian cauſe.

SELIM received intelligence of theſe preparations without being diſmayed; and ordered his general to go in ſearch of, and engage the enemies fleet.

THE Turkiſh general had employed the famous Caracos to reconnoitre it. This corſair had the addreſs to penetrate as far as Calabria; but whether he executed his commiſſion with too much precipitation, or whether the iſland of Corfou, which covered the fleet, had concealed from him a part of the veſſels, he made the Turkiſh general fall into the ſnare which deceived himſelf.

THIS

This falſe rumour, which deluded the Barbarians, determined them to engage: ſome of their generals oppoſed this precipitate reſolution; but Hali Baſſa, who commanded in chief, declared that he had received expreſs orders from Selim to give battle: this declaration ſilenced all deliberations; and the Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of about three hundred ſail, entered the gulph of Lepanto.

The navy of the Chriſtians was not ſo numerous; but it was commanded by very great men: an infinite number of experienced officers, and ſeveral perſons of quality, of tried bravery, had taken the reſolution to diſtinguiſh themſelves in it. Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Charles V. a prince who had acquired an illuſtrious reputation in the Spaniſh war againſt the Moors, commanded in chief; his lieutenant was Marcus Antoninus Colonne, general of the troops of the holy ſee; under them commanded André Doria, the prince of Urbin, the count de Ligny, Paul Sforze,

Sforze, the count de Santafiore, the prince of Parma, Paul Jourdain des Urſins, Jean de Cardonne, Sebaſtien Venier, Barbarique Bacian, and the famous Romegas *.

The reputation of theſe warriors kindled in the breaſt of Grillon an ardent deſire to become a partner of their glory; but this conjuncture was not favourable to his ambition: without any poſt in the army, it was impoſſible for him to diſtinguiſh himſelf as he wiſhed, among ſo great a number of generals, whoſe reputations were eſtabliſhed by ſo many ſhining exploits: yet theſe reflections did not diſcourage him from eagerly ſeeking all opportunities to ſignalize himſelf.

His family-name was known to the generals of the Chriſtian forces, and remembred by the Turks. Haſſan Baſſa, ſon to the fa-

* Romegas was a celebrated commander of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, who ſpread ſuch a terror through the Eaſt, that mothers, to frighten their children, uſed to ſay, Here comes Romegas!

mous

mous Barbaroſſa, one of the principal generals of Selim's army, was ignorant that the ability, experience, and valour of the bailiff Balbus Simeoni * had humbled the haughty confidence of his father thirty-five years before.

DON John of Auſtria, when he reviewed his forces, had diſcovered ſome armed veſſels; but they appeared to be in ſo defenceleſs a condition, that he thought it would be impoſſible to make uſe of them; and being informed that no officer choſe to accept the command of them, he gave orders that they ſhould be kept at a diſtance; apprehending they would rather be an incumbrance than of any ſervice to the fleet. Grillon, a ſimple knight of the galleys of Malta, accuſtomed to give orders

* Fra. Paulo Simeoni, governor of Nice, grand prior of Lombardy, ſo well known in the order of Malta by an action againſt the Turks at the iſland of Lero, in 1506, when he was but eighteen; and afterwards at Tunis againſt Barbaroſſa, in 1535.

for victory, ſeized with eagerneſs an opportunity ſo agreeable to his bravery: aſſured of his own heart, and relying on his good fortune, heſitated not a moment to aſk don John's permiſſion to command thoſe veſſels; and promiſed he would meet either death or victory. This propoſal, from any other beſides Grillon, would have been rejected as raſh; but his great courage, and reſources in extremity, joined to the air and confidence of an hero aſſured of ſucceſs, ſo charmed don John and all the generals, that he obtained what he ſo ardently wiſhed for.

THE Ottoman fleet was in the gulph of Lepanto: the generals Venier and Barbarique propoſed, that the fleet of the league ſhould be ſtationed there; don John oppoſed it at firſt; but he ſoon yielded to the reaſons theſe two experienced captains made uſe of.

THE Chriſtians had their ſhips placed at the mouth of the gulph; their prows turned towards the iſles of Curſolari: in this

this part the ſea is extremely narrow; there are a great number of rocks and quick-ſands: the Turks prepared themſelves for battle with the utmoſt aſſurance of conqueſt; every thing ſeemed to favour them; their navy was greatly ſuperior to that of the league: a wind aroſe which ſwelled the ſails of their veſſels, and aſſiſted their works. By a contrary effect, it ſtopped the Chriſtian veſſels, and rendered the endeavours of the ſailors difficult and hazardous.

The ſun, which darted its rays in the eyes of the Chriſtians, prevented them from ranging their forces, and concealed from them the diſpoſition of thoſe of the infidels: but ſuddenly the wind changed; the ſea grew calm, and a thick cloud darkened the ſun; which gave the Chriſtian fleet full liberty to move.

Hali was not diſcouraged at this accident; he was impatient to fight, and appeared aſſured of victory: this haughty confidence ſpread itſelf among all the Turks; who with repeated ſhouts audaciouſly

ciouſly inſulted the Chriſtians. Grillon, incenſed, and eager to engage, after a ſhort harangue (deſigned to animate his men) ordered the veſſels to ſail; and ſhewed himſelf on board the firſt.

The Turks, who ſaw theſe boats ſo ill-provided with ſoldiers, approached with the utmoſt diſdain, believing that nothing was ſo eaſy as to ſeize them. They paid dear for this attempt; and were convinced that victory was not ſo certain as they had flattered themſelves. Never hero fought with more reſolution and calmneſs than Grillon.

The moſt daring were ſeized with terror; where-ever he engaged, Turks fell in heaps around him: his followers, animated by his example, imitate him; attack, and conquer.

The Barbarians, ſeeing the number of men in theſe victorious barks did not leſſen, and that their fury and ardor for victory were ſtill the ſame, cried out, That heaven certainly ſupplied this hero with Chriſtians,

or

or they muſt ariſe out of the waves, to fight under him. All their eyes were fixed on him: a cloud of arrows covered him; he received one, which pierced his arm; he drew it out, and, exaſperated at the wound, made redoubled efforts, filling the veſſel he attacked with ſlaughtered Turks. This bravery had few examples. The generals of the Ottoman fleet could ſcarce believe their enemy was mortal; and thoſe of the Chriſtian navy beheld with the utmoſt admiration and aſtoniſhment this prodigy of valour.

The glory of this action impelled thoſe who were witneſſes of it, to the generous reſolution of devoting their lives to their religion and country: the combat became general; the bravery of the Chriſtians made theſe Barbarians feel, that valour can ſupply the place of numbers. A thouſand times Grillon dared death by plunging himſelf into the midſt of danger, or in aſſiſting and reſcuing thoſe who wanted his aid.

The corſairs of Algiers and Tripoli, ſeeing victory declare in favour of the league, reſolved to ſeize the Malteſe galleys, that they might aſſume to themſelves the glory of this important prize: ſucceſs at firſt favoured their attempt; they ſurrounded the galleys, and were juſt upon the point of taking them; which Grillon perceiving, he immediately came up, and compelled the enemy to defend themſelves: they fought the more reſolutely, as they were eager to obtain ſuch a prize; but all their efforts ſerved only to render the glory of their conqueror ſtill more conſpicuous.

Nothing could equal Grillon's valour, except that of the knights of Malta, the conſtant ſcourge of the infidels; though in this engagement there were but three galleys of that order, the unheard-of prodigies they performed, contributed greatly to the glory of that day.

Hali the Turkiſh general, confuſed and deſperate to ſee himſelf almoſt vanquiſhed, exhauſted

exhauſted all the reſources his genius furniſhed him with to recover his ſuperiority over the Chriſtians, by ſeizing the moſt inconſiderable advantages; always calm and undiſmayed in the moſt threatening dangers; giving his orders with an admirable preſence of mind; and expoſing his perſon upon every occaſion with the moſt reſolute intrepidity: but his ſtandard being attacked by don John, it was taken; and Hali, in defending it, received that death he ſo eagerly ſought, rather than ſurvive the Chriſtian triumph.

The battle of Lepanto was one of the moſt bloody which had ever been fought upon the ſea: the Turks loſt two hundred ſail; they had above thirty thouſand men killed, and ſix thouſand made priſoners of war. The victors gave liberty to twenty thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves. But the victory they gained might have been more important and deciſive; for had they taken advantage of the terror and conſternation of the Turks, they might eaſily have repoſ-

ſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of Cyprus. Selim, diſcouraged at the loſs of this battle, retreated to Adrianople, to re-aſſemble the remains of his ſcattered navy: he ſhewed all the ſigns of the deepeſt affliction: he was two days without taking any nouriſhment, and appeared ſo extremely depreſſed and dejected, that had the Chriſtians at that time penetrated as far as Conſtantinople, the Sultan would have fled before them.

The generals of the league, who were ſenſible of the anxiety all the Chriſtian princes muſt ſuffer, while they were in ſuſpence as to the event of the battle, diſpatched couriers to all the ſeveral courts. Grillon appeared to them the moſt worthy to carry this great news to the ſovereign pontiff; but the wound in his arm made the generals heſitate; Grillon deſpiſed it as of no conſequence, and aſſured them that it did not deſerve the leaſt attention.

He arrived at Rome, adorned with a thouſand glorious marks of the ſhare he had

had in the happy ſucceſs of the battle of Lepanto: he preſented himſelf to the pope, accompanied by a great number of knights of Malta, who had ſtrove for the honour of attending him. Pope Pius V. who was informed, by the generals letters which Grillon had delivered to him, of the ſhare he had in the victory, gave him all the praiſes he deſerved; and then addreſſed himſelf with the moſt flattering encomiums to the knights, who had ſo valiantly fought againſt the enemies of the faith. He gave Grillon a thouſand marks of a particular eſteem; embraced him with extreme tenderneſs, and granted him ſeveral privileges. He granted to his houſe the right of having a chapel with the ſame privileges as thoſe of the popes; which they ſtill enjoy at Avignon. The ſhining merit of this envoy; the glorious actions he had performed, as well in the religious wars in France, as at Lepanto; the reputation of the name he bore, ſo long dear to the holy ſee; the high encomiums the general gave

of his valour and talents for war, procured him the eſteem of the whole court of Rome.

GRILLON having filled this capitol of the world with the fame of his exploits, left it in order to repair to France. The generals had ordered him to carry to that court the news of the defeat of the Turks: he arrived, preceded by fame; who had already publiſhed his glorious exploits at Lepanto. The king, when he received him, ſaid, You are Grillon! where-ever you go your ſword is victorious. Catherine gave him the ſincereſt proof of her eſteem, by attaching him to her ſon the duke of Anjou.

HER extreme tenderneſs for the prince, joined to a nice diſcernment, made her ſelect, for his companions and attendants, perſons of quality and acknowleged merit, capable to ſupport his intereſts, and to aid him with their counſels and ſwords. This choice was as honourable for Grillon, as it was advantageous for the prince; to whom he

he was ever invariably attached on the moſt urgent occaſions.

WHILE Grillon was employed in carrying on the war againſt the Turks, the privy council of Charles IX. were forming a deſign at Paris to deſtroy the whole Huguenot party: this we have already ſaid was a project of the queen's; but the methods they took to execute it, were the ſources of much greater calamities than thoſe they intended to prevent.

FROM the character of this princeſs ſprung all thoſe civil wars which tore and divided the ſtate during the reigns of her children. A character which led her ſometimes to neglect keeping any meaſures with the Catholics; and at others, to treat the Huguenots with too much rigour; and by this means ſhe filled both parties with diffidence and miſtruſt. She was always diſtinguiſhed for a fatal talent of keeping alive, and ſtrengthening at court, the ſpirit of faction, diviſion, jealouſy, and ſuſpicion. She was guided by the ſame policy even in

the government of her own family; and without the leaſt ſcruple made her children ſuſpected by each other: ſhe was wholly negligent of their education; and ſaw them abandoned to every exceſs of luxury with the utmoſt tranquillity, being perſuaded that the more they were devoted to their pleaſures, the leſs they would concern themſelves with the public affairs. The pernicious principles of Machiavel were the only maxims ſhe taught them. Little eſteemed by the Catholics, by whom the ſincerity of her religion was ſuſpected; hated by the Huguenots, whom ſhe had ſo often deceived; poſſeſſing neither the love of the firſt, nor the confidence of the laſt: more dreaded than beloved by her children, ſhe ſpent her life in raiſing or ſinking firſt one faction, then the other. The education of Charles IX. was more happily cultivated by his preceptor Amiot; who was afterwards biſhop of Auxerre, and almoner of France. This prince had every talent requiſite to form a warrior; valour, reſolution,

tion, and an ardent desire to merit the reputation of a great general. He gave a signal proof of his undaunted bravery in the retreat from Meaux; where he placed himself at the head of the Swiss, to repulse the prince of Condé and the admiral; protesting, that he would rather die a king, than live a captive *. The queen, for whom he paid great deference and respect, endeavoured to restrain this warlike propensity; less, possibly, from an apprehension of the dangers he would be exposed to, than to secure to the duke of Anjou an established reputation; a reputation of which the king was extremely jealous. Few princes have been more perfect in the art of dissimulation; he gloried in it; and frequently boasted of

* Some historians, as a further proof of this king's undaunted courage, have amused their readers with the following relation: That one day as he was hunting in a forest, a spectre of fire (or rather a fiery exhalation) appearing, all his attendants flying, he remained alone; but not in the least dismayed, drew his sword; and on his attempting to strike the supposed phantom, it disappeared.

his

his ſucceſs, in learning ſo perfectly, and putting in practice, the maxims of Lewis XI. that he who knows not how to diſſemble, is not worthy to reign.

CATHERINE had in this prince an excellent diſciple. He had been further inſtructed by Albert de Gondi, known ſince by the name of marſhal de Retz. It was in the frequent converſations he held with this favourite, that he contracted that ſhameful and indecent habit of ſwearing; ſaying, That it was an ornament to his diſcourſe. In thoſe days the courtiers made a merit of this ſhocking cuſtom; to imitate their monarch.

CHARLES IX. had other defects: a ſavage rage, and irrational tranſports of paſſion, made him dreadful to his moſt intimate friends; but theſe faults were compenſated by ſome eſtimable qualities. He was temperate, and indefatigable in buſineſs; ſplendid, generous, and a lover of the polite arts. He diſtinguiſhed poets of merit and reputation; but with frugality: he ſometimes

times humourouſly compared them to good horſes, that deſerved to be well fed, but not too much fattened.

The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. was declared worthy to fill the throne, before he aſcended it, by the united ſuffrages of all Europe. He was agreeable in his perſon; humane and generous in his manners; beneficent, eloquent, affable, and condeſcending in his behaviour; and he knew how to rally with an inimitable grace and delicacy: he joined to the moſt engaging ſoftneſs, an air of majeſty; brave and intrepid, he poſſeſſed all the talents of the ſoldier and general; always eager to ſeize every occaſion of acquiring fame. He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for every grace of mind and perſon requiſite to form a great prince: but as ſoon as he ſucceeded Charles IX. the duke of Anjou diſappeared.

The ſplendid reputation of this prince, joined to his amiable figure, and the graces he received from nature, ſeemed to have made ſo deep an impreſſion upon queen Eliza-

Elizabeth, that ſhe affected to wiſh this young hero for her huſband: but this diſſembled inclination ſerved to conceal her intention to amuſe France, and kindle in that kingdom the flames of civil war. Catherine wiſhed as ardently for this alliance, as Charles IX. himſelf; one, out of tenderneſs to a ſon ſhe adored; the other, from hatred to a brother too dear to his mother; and already covered with thoſe laurels which alarmed his jealouſy.

Catherine was equally humbled and diſtreſſed, when thoſe dreams of greatneſs, which the throne of England flattered her with, vaniſhed. She now no longer doubted, but that Elizabeth, not leſs ſubtle than herſelf, had laid this ſhining ſnare in her way, that ſhe might have time to join herſelf to the enemies of the ſtate.

The duke d'Alençon, brother to the king and the duke of Anjou, was of a middling ſtature; his countenance was frank and engaging; but the ſmall pox had hurt his features: polite and pleaſing in his beha-

behaviour; his manners and character inclined him to do whatever was right: he wanted neither valour nor ambition; but flatterers corrupted a diſpoſition naturally amiable; and the error of his head ſoon infected his heart.

This prince, whoſe underſtanding was extremely limited, ſuffered himſelf to be governed by thoſe flatterers, who made uſe of him as the inſtrument of their ambition. He had little diſcernment; incapable of ſearching to the bottom of an affair, or anticipating the conſequences, his projects were never the reſult of reflexion; he was too unſteady to follow a regular plan: thus his enterprizes were ſeldom ſucceſsful; the few which were brought to perfection, were leſs owing to his prudence, than to the effect of chance, and particular circumſtances.

The duke d'Alençon, ſenſible that he had leſs ſhare in the affection of his mother than the duke of Anjou (whoſe ſuperiority he could not call in queſtion) was ſuſpected to have liſtened to the counſels of an unnatural

tural and mad ambition, ſo far as not to be ſhocked at the thoughts of parricide: his manners were ſo diſſolute and diſorderly, that thoſe who reverenced his birth had a contempt for his perſon.

HENRY of Navarre and the prince of Condé, couſins-german, were both diſtinguiſhed for all thoſe great qualities which form the hero. They were chiefs of the Huguenot party; and wiſhed that it might have the ſuperiority. Next to them, the admiral was the principal, and firmeſt ſupport of Calviniſm. It has been already ſeen, that he was conſidered at court as the moſt dangerous enemy the Catholic religion had. In order to free themſelves from him, it was thought neceſſary to deſcend to the mean reſources of artifice and treachery, to deceive him by a treaty of peace. We ſhall now ſee how the arts of Catherine ſucceeded.

As the admiral was always diffident, and upon his guard, great care was taken to give him no cauſe for ſuſpicion; and to treat the

the Huguenots with all thoſe indulgencies which might tend to ſtrengthen and confirm their confidence; but what extinguiſhed all remains of doubt was, the marriage of the king of Navarre with princeſs Marguerite, ſiſter to the king; which was to be immediately celebrated. This alliance was conſidered by the Huguenots as a pledge of the ſincere intentions of the court, which ſeemed now in earneſt in their endeavours to reſtore peace to the kingdom, and regain their confidence. The Calviniſts mingled in theſe public rejoicings with the Catholics, and forgot their antient animoſities.

The admiral, at the repeated intreaties of the marſhals de Montmorency and de Coſſé his friends, repaired to court: he was received with ſo many expreſſions of goodneſs, eſteem, confidence, and even tenderneſs by the king, that the moſt ſuſpicious and penetrating of all men, might have ſuffered himſelf to be deceived. The king called him his father, expreſſed his ſorrow for being too lightly credulous; in liſtening

liſtening to reports to the diſadvantage of ſubjects whoſe fidelity he no longer doubted. This prince did more; he imparted to him the deſign he had formed, to declare war againſt Spain, and give him the command of the army: this glorious diſtinction flattered the admiral's vanity; and made him believe the hour was come, when he ſhould poſſeſs the king's entire confidence; notwithſtanding the repeated cautions of his friends, who warned him, that theſe flattering diſtinctions concealed ſome ſecret deſign; and that they were meditating his ruin.

While very diligent preparations were making for the marriage of the king of Navarre, the court was devoted to pleaſures and amuſements; gallantry was the principal buſineſs of the lords which compoſed it: it would have been a diſgrace at that time to have had no miſtreſs. The king had lately married Elizabeth of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian; a princeſs as virtuous as ſhe was lovely.

Yet

Yet all theſe charms united, had not power to induce Charles IX. to renounce his antient paſſion for Marie Touchet *, who in the anagram of her name, carried the encomiums of her charms. She had power to captivate the heart of a monarch: by this prince ſhe had Charles of Valois, duke d'Angouleme.

The duke of Anjou paid his aſſiduities to more than one object; but his ſighs and vows were more particularly addreſſed to the princeſs of Condé †: the paſſion ſhe had inſpired, and her unblemiſhed virtue, made the duke's love for her more ardent. Mademoiſelle de Chateauneuf, of the family of Rieux, held but the ſecond rank in his affections; to her he offered that homage the princeſs

* Marie Touchet was the daughter of John Touchet of the king's council, and lieutenant to the bailiwick and court of Orleans: ſhe was extremely handſome, and had a great deal of wit. Some ſay ſhe was daughter to an apothecary, but they are miſtaken. In the anagram of her name, theſe words are found in French, Je charme tout; I charm all.

† Marie de Cleves.

of

of Condé rejected. The king of Navarre, upon the point of being united to Marguerite de Valois, by a marriage equally diſagreeable to both, approached that princeſs with the ſlow and reluctant ſteps of a huſband; but flew to madame de Sauve with the eager impatience of a lover. Marguerite de Valois's heart was rendered impenetrable to all other impreſſions by the idea of the duke de Guiſe, whom ſhe tenderly loved: the beauty of this princeſs, the thouſand charms diffuſed over her whole perſon, the mingled ſoftneſs and dignity of her manners, were beheld by the king of Navarre with the coldeſt indifference.

The duke de Guiſe was, in a double ſenſe, rival to the king of Navarre; the vows of his ambition were addreſſed to Marguerite de Valois; thoſe inſpired by love, to madame de Sauve: Marguerite, whoſe ſoul, tender and ſenſible to the higheſt degree, ſeemed born to be the victim of a paſſion, which when felt, for the firſt time, is ſo precious to him who has the glory of

of inſpiring it, returned ſigh for ſigh to the duke de Guiſe. The vanity of madame de Sauve, accepted the homage of this prince; as amiable a lover, as he was a great man: thus the intrigues of love, ſucceeded to thoſe of the cabinet, which were often ſecretly influenced by them.

One of the firſt ſteps of the young lords of the court, was to make choice of a lady to whom all their aſſiduities were to be addreſſed: the lady, on her ſide, eſpouſed the intereſt of the knight, whom ſhe ſometimes choſe herſelf. This polite and gallant intercourſe was conſidered as a matter of no conſequence, and affected neither the virtue nor reputation of the lady: but their tranquillity was often interrupted by love; the ſimple politeneſs of the gentleman, grew warm, tender, and officious; and the lady's complaiſance, which began now to flow from a concealed ſenſibility, completed the happineſs of him who had inſpired it.

Notwithstanding Grillon's predominant inclination to arms, he was not inſenſible

ſible to love; but this paſſion had not power to chill that noble ardor for glory, which never forſook him: he was then in the thirty-firſt year of his age; his ſtature tall and perſon well-proportioned; he had an air of majeſty, frankneſs, and livelineſs in his countenance; to an eaſy dignity of deportment, he joined a certain military popularity, which made him adored by the troops, and beloved by all that knew him. Madame de Bonneval was not inſenſible to his merit. Grillon, who had always the preference to thoſe who ſought to pleaſe the object of his love, had often rivals to engage with; but they always found their conqueror in their antagoniſt; and were convinced, that he was not leſs formidable in the liſt, than in the attack of an entrenchment, in mounting or defending a breach, or in a battle. The confuſion of ſo many rivals, whom he had vanquiſhed, made his looked upon as the moſt victorious ſword in France.

This pre-eminence of reputation raiſed him a great number of rivals of another kind. Buſſi d'Amboiſe, ſo famous in hiſtory, who fancied himſelf the braveſt cavalier of the kingdom, piqued that Grillon ſhould deprive him of that glorious diſtinction, reſolved to fight him: Buſſi was greatly eſteemed at court for his valour; but his captious diſpoſition made it dangerous to have any intimacy with him; ſome rencounters, in which he had acquitted himſelf with honour, made him ſo proud of his valour, that he was inſupportable; a word, a look, was conſidered by him as a challenge.

Grillon was not leſs jealous of a reputation for bravery, purchaſed ſo often at the expence of his blood; this mutual jealouſy muſt neceſſarily produce a combat: Buſſi began the quarrel; one day meeting Grillon in la rue St. Honoré, he aſked him, with a haughty air and tone of voice (which the other was not tame enough to paſs by) What it was a clock?——The hour of thy

death, replied Grillon, putting his hand on his ſword.

Never was there ſeen a more obſtinate combat; courage and dexterity were employed on both ſides with equal advantage. Buſſi and Grillon were ſo much animated, that there was no proſpect of this combat being ended, but by the death of one, perhaps of both, had not ſome lords of the court parted them: great multitudes of perſons, officers and others, belonging to the court, were ſpectators of this engagement; and they declared, it had ended more to the honour of Grillon, than of Buſſi; who was no longer conſidered as invincible.

Bussi's rage and deſpair at this defeat, increaſed his jealouſy of Grillon's reputation; and produced a hatred which could only be extinguiſhed in blood: we ſhall ſee hereafter by what method this hatred was conquered.

The time appointed for the celebration of the king of Navarre's marriage drew nigh,

nigh, when Jeanne d'Albret, mother to that prince, who came to Paris to be preſent at his nuptials, died of an illneſs which gave riſe to various reports; her death was ſo ſudden, that it was not doubted but ſhe was poiſoned. This princeſs deſerved the tears which were ſhed at her death; her life, character, maſculine genius, the fortitude with which ſhe bore adverſity, her reſources againſt her enemies; ſtripped of her dominions, yet always reſpected as a queen for her actions and invincible courage; her zeal for true glory, generoſity, humanity without weakneſs; all placed her upon a level with the greateſt men: all theſe ſhining and amiable qualities were not ſullied by one defect; to give a finiſhing ſtroke to her character, ſhe was worthy to be mother to Henry the Great.

Her death delayed the marriage for ſome months; it was afterwards celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. The princes of the houſe of Guiſe, jealous of the favour the king ſhewed the admiral,

had retired from court; but being invited to aſſiſt at this feſtival, they returned: the king reconciled the admiral and the duke de Guiſe; he commanded them to embrace: this prince ſtill continued to give the admiral every mark of the tendereſt friendſhip and eſteem.

The duke de Guiſe knew not what to think of theſe flattering diſtinctions; he was perſuaded, that it was impoſſible the king ſhould have forgot the calamities and troubles the admiral had occaſioned in the kingdom, and his attempt upon Meaux; a crime which he had ſworn to revenge: but never prince of his age knew better how to diſſemble his real ſentiments, nor to have recourſe to artifice with an air ſo ſeemingly open and ſincere; he conſidered it as a maſter-piece of policy to deceive the moſt artful, able, and ſuſpicious man of his kingdom.

This conduct could not re-aſſure the king of Navarre, already alarmed by the different warnings the admiral had received; but

but the latter, not being able to reconcile the marks the king gave him of his eſteem, with a deſign to effect his ruin, deſpiſed the fears and apprehenſions of the Huguenots, as a panic terror which had ſeized them: the king of Navarre's apprehenſions were increaſed by an attempt, which ought to have been received as a warning by the admiral.

On friday the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, about eleven in the morning, as the admiral (who had been to ſee the king play at tennis) was returning home a ſlow pace, he received a hurt from a piſtol loaded with bullets; it was fired behind a curtain, from a window of the houſe of Vielmur, formerly preceptor to the duke de Guiſe: the admiral had one finger ſhot off, and his left arm fractured near the elbow. This attempt alarmed the Huguenots who accompanied him; but he, without betraying any emotion, looked up to ſee whence it came; and only ſaid, This is the fruit of my reconciliation with the duke de Guiſe.

The king was ſtill at tennis when he was told what had happened: he expreſſed a great rage, which ſtruck all about him with terror: he threw away his racket; and ſolemnly ſwore, he would revenge this attempt in the moſt terrible manner; he went immediately to viſit the admiral, expreſſed the tendereſt concern for what had happened, and vowed to puniſh this action with the moſt ſignal vengeance. The queen, the dukes of Anjou and Alençon, went to ſee him, and expreſſed their concern for this attempt.

The admiral, deluded by theſe marks of friendſhip and eſteem he received from the king, refuſed to be carried to St. Germains. But he was the victim of credulous confidence: the queen had reſolved to ruin him; ſhe knew how to alarm her ſons by the menaces of the Huguenots, whom ſhe declared had vowed to take a ſignal vengeance on him who ſhould aſſaſſinate their chief: theſe counſels of Catherine, whoſe dangerous eloquence had ſo much power

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Never had any man a higher opinion of himſelf than the admiral: he relied ſo abſolutely on his arts, as well political as military, on his dexterity, eloquence to perſuade, and penetration, which he fancied nothing could eſcape; that, even in the opinion of his friends, this vanity ſullied thoſe eminent qualities he poſſeſſed. He was often heard to ſay,

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† Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almoſt continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard ſomething of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the proteſtant party; he gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and ſhe to the prince of Condé and the admiral; the rage this inſpired carried them to the enterprize at Meaux.

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that neither Alexander the Great, nor Julius Ceſar, deſerved to be compared to him; to them, fortune had been always favourable; but for him, though (ſhame to his evil deſtiny!) he had loſt four battles, he was become but the more formidable to his enemies by his valour and capacity; that in one word, when they imagined they had reduced him to the extremity of ſaving his life by flight, and to wander through the world like a vagabond, he had ſhewn himſelf ſo ſuperior to theſe reverſes, that his enemies had ſeen the neceſſity of granting him peace; with conditions which rather became the victors than the vanquiſhed.

Grillon had been hitherto ignorant of this plot: he was too much eſteemed to be intruſted with it; and too zealous for the honour of his religion and country, not to lament the calamities this maſſacre muſt inevitably occaſion. With his accuſtomed frankneſs he dared openly to condemn it; and declared aloud, that by making the Hu-

Huguenots deſperate, they had furniſhed them with a juſt pretence to revolt.

THE court thought otherwiſe; they flattered themſelves, that by the deſtruction of ſo many Huguenots, and by the murder of the admiral, their chief, they had weakened the Calviniſt faction, beyond retrieve. The king aſſembled a council; in which it was reſolved to take advantage of their conſternation, and repoſſeſs themſelves of thoſe towns of ſecurity which they had been compelled to grant: they began with Rochelle, their ſtrongeſt rampart; a city which facilitated the entrance of ſuccours by ſea. The Calviniſts, who looked on this place as the aſylum of their liberties, prepared for a reſolute defence, or to be buried under its ruins: with this vigorous reſolution they rejected all propoſitions of accommodation; their obſtinacy made the Catholics reſolve upon the ſiege of that place; which the duke of Anjou undertook in the month of November.

THAT prince, who foreſaw the difficulties this enterprize would be attended

with, had recourſe once more to negotiations; but his propoſals being haughtily refuſed, he thought of nothing but proſecuting the ſiege with all requiſite vigour.

NEVER was ſo much bravery and reſolution exerted, as by the beſieged and beſiegers. If Rochelle was reſolutely attacked, it was as reſolutely defended.

DURING the ſiege, Grillon juſtified the friendſhip and confidence the duke of Anjou honoured him with, by the counſels he gave that prince, and the gallant exploits he performed.

HE was engaged in every attack; and in all the actions which paſſed between the beſiegers and the beſieged, whoſe frequent ſallies were ſo many reſolute battles, he ſupported with honour the reputation which he had acquired. One of the moſt bloody actions happened at noon, towards the end of February, and laſted ſix hours: la None, who commanded in the place, was at the head of a detachment, and ſupported the

the ſally with his accuſtomed bravery. Grillon, de Vino, and Serillac ſuſtained the efforts of the enemy with the firmneſs of heroes: they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded, and though covered with wounds, refuſed to retreat till the action was over; in which a hundred and fifty men and ſeveral officers of rank were killed.

THE enemy's reſolute reſiſtance made the duke of Anjou more than once repent that he had engaged his reputation in the ſucceſs of a ſiege, the event of which appeared to him extremely doubtful. He had lain ſix months before Rochelle, and had already loſt above twenty thouſand men, without being able to boaſt of any conſiderable advantage: but what convinced him that the Huguenots were leſs weakened than he had believed, was the furious ſally they made ſome time after this; for twelve hundred men aſſaulted the camp, at the ſame time that an equal number of the gariſon appeared upon the walls; from whence they fired very briſkly upon the beſiegers.

THE

The duke of Anjou commanded a detachment appointed to ſuſtain this aſſault, which was ſoon changed to a furious battle. Grillon, who could not bear to remain an idle ſpectator of an action, where he had an opportunity of being uſeful to his king, and of adding new luſtre to the glory he had already acquired, diſregarding his wounds, flew (without waiting for orders) to the place of action; and throwing himſelf fearleſly on that ſide where the enemy appeared ſuperior, he changed the fortune of the day: his intrepidity and reſolution animated all who were witneſſes of it: he ſpread terror and alarm where-ever he directed his ſteps; almoſt alone and unſupported he ſtopt the progreſs of the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers, covered with wounds, and weakened by the loſs of blood, he ſunk down upon the ſpot. The Huguenots, who believed he was killed, thought they had now vanquiſhed the moſt formidable enemy of Calviniſm. The Royaliſts, eager to preſerve

the

the precious remains of a man whom they beheld with the utmoſt reverence, tenderneſs, and admiration, immediately removed his body, to deprive the Huguenots of the glory of becoming maſters of it.

If in this vigorous action the enemy could not boaſt of any advantage, they yet gave evident proofs that they were ſtill able to defend themſelves. The duke of Anjou was ſo convinced of this truth, that he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs: he now ſought for nothing but ſome pretence to abandon, without diſgrace, his enterprize, when fortune furniſhed him with one: he received news of his election to the throne of Poland; with an expreſs order to repair to court, and put an end upon any terms to the ſiege of Rochelle. The duke of Anjou, whoſe wiſhes were now accompliſhed, capitulated with the Rochellers; to whom he granted conditions ſo extremely advantageous, that nothing but the critical ſituation of affairs could have given revolted ſubjects any claim to.

The duke of Anjou's elevation to the throne of Poland was the reſult of one of thoſe myſterious negotiations of Catherine, which few perſons were able to penetrate: the ſpeculative attributed to ambition the eagerneſs with which ſhe ſought that crown for the duke of Anjou; but thoſe who imagined they were better acquainted with her concealed ſentiments, looked upon this elevation as the moſt refined ſtroke of policy; and ſaid, that Catherine endeavoured by this means to remove the ſuſpicions Charles IX had entertained, that the queen his mother loved only the duke of Anjou.

While all were employed at the ſiege of Rochelle, the Huguenots of Provence took poſſeſſion of ſeveral places; and in order to keep them all in ſubjection, they determined to ſeize Menerbe; from whence they might with eaſe make incurſions as far as Avignon. Valavoire, one of the principal Calviniſts of that country, ſucceeded in this attempt by the treachery of a curate who aſſiſted him: this traitor took his meaſures ſo

ſo effectually, that he made Valavoire maſter of the town: he ſecured it by a good gariſon, under the command of Ferrier, a man of capacity, and a good ſoldier.

FERRIER, whoſe manners were as ſavage and unpoliſhed, as his zeal for Calviniſm was ardent, ſoon became the tyrant of Menerbe; he committed the moſt ſhameful depredations; and laid waſte the country to the very gates of Avignon.

CLAUDE BALBE BERTON, brother to him whoſe hiſtory I am writing, actuated by thoſe noble ſentiments which were hereditary to all of that name, headed ſome troops appointed to check the ravages of theſe robbers, and attempted to retake Menerbe: Ferrier, having intelligence of this, ſent notice of it to Monbrun, one of the chiefs of the Calviniſt party. Monbrun knew that the valour and capacity of Tadée de Baſchy were as eminent as his birth; he choſe him to ſuccour Menerbe; and gave him five hundred foot and fifty arquebuſiers. Baſchy began his

his march; but being informed, that the Catholics were near enough to attack him, he concealed himſelf in a wood till night, and then marched with ſo much expedition, that he entered the place by day-break. When his troops had reſted themſelves, he divided them into three bodies, ſet fire to all the corn in the neighbouring barns, and ſpread terror and deſolation all over the country.

These diſorders haſtened the ſiege of Menerbe: Baſchy, having notice of this deſign, ſallied out with four hundred troopers and three hundred arquebuſiers, whom he concealed, half of them in a hollow way on the left, and the reſt in a little wood on the right: in this ſituation he was attacked; his cavalry ſeemed to give way: Berton, hurried on by his impetuoſity, followed him; at that inſtant the arquebuſiers in ambuſcade fired ſo ſeaſonably, that not one miſſed his mark; Baſchy at the ſame time ſurrounding on all ſides the aſtoniſhed Catholics, the execution was terrible. Berton, whoſe

whoſe troops were unexperienced, undiſciplined, and irreſolute, compoſed partly of weak, fearful peaſants, endeavoured in vain to inſpire them with his own magnanimity; he repreſented to them, that they had no other means of preſerving their lives, but by a vigorous reſiſtance; that they were not only called upon to conquer for glory, but to eſcape certain death.

At the ſame time Berton gave the example, and acted at once as commander, officer, and ſoldier; he threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemies, who, ſeeing him followed by only a few trembling ſoldiers prepared to fly, ſurrounded him: it was then that his intrepidity, increaſed by his deſpair, made him ruſh upon certain death, to avoid captivity.

Thus ended the combat; all fled. Baſchy purſued the miſerable fugitives to the gates of Avignon. The inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they paid him a conſiderable contribution, to prevail with him to retire.

This

THIS victory ſecured Menerbe to the Huguenots; who became more powerful than ever, by the advantages they had gained in the provinces, and by the removal of the duke d'Anjou.

THIS prince ſaw the neceſſity of his departure with extreme regret: the phyſicians had aſſured him, that the king, whoſe health viſibly decayed, could not laſt long.

THE duke of Anjou, who foreſaw the ſtrong party which the duke d'Alençon would probably form in the ſtate, trembled, that in going to take poſſeſſion of one crown, he might be compelled to reſign his pretenſions to the firſt in the world; nor could he, without the moſt lively grief, reflect, that he was upon the point of being ſeparated, poſſibly for ever, from the princeſs of Condé, who, by the ſteady oppoſition ſhe made to his paſſionate importunities, augmented his tenderneſs.

THE duke of Anjou was always meditating new pretences to ſtay at court. The king, offended at theſe delays, which perhaps

perhaps gave him occaſion to ſuſpect that his brother had formed hopes from his ill ſtate of health ſoon to ſucceed him, ſaid to Catherine, in the duke's preſence, It is neceſſary, Madam, that either I or my brother ſhould ſet out for Poland; do you determine which. Then looking with haughtineſs at the duke of Anjou, he added, It is your KING who commands you to depart, and who will be obeyed.

THE queen was confuſed and alarmed at the air of authority which Charles IX. had aſſumed on this occaſion: he warned her, that ſhe was no longer to expect from him that docility which ſhe had ſo often abuſed. She now ſaw how neceſſary it was to keep terms with him.

THE departure of this ſon ſo dear to her, could be no longer delayed. Her ardor to govern ſilenced her tenderneſs for him. She compoſed the court of the new monarch of perſons whom ſhe believed the moſt capable to do him honour, and ſuſtain his intereſts in caſe of a revolution. She looked

looked upon Grillon as the moſt powerful protector, and firmeſt ſupport, of her ſon's fortunes. She expected every thing from his experience, prudence, and fidelity.

The king of Poland ſet out the twenty-ninth of November, and took his route thro' Germany. At Heidelberg this prince was expoſed to all the affronts and indignities the elector palatine could invent. Not content with giving him the moſt ſenſible mortifications, he endeavoured to make him fear his approaching fate.

The elector commanded a picture, repreſenting the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, to be placed in the apartment appointed for the king of Poland, in which the admiral, and other Huguenots killed that fatal night, were drawn as large as the life.

When the king entered the room, to which the elector, at his arrival, immediately conducted him, he led him to this picture; and aſked him, with a gloomy and exaſperated air, if he was acquainted with the terrible ſubject it repreſented? The queſtion,

queſtion, the tone of voice and look which accompanied theſe words, ſurpriſed the king; who, notwithſtanding the power which a habit of diſſimulation had given him over himſelf, was for a moment diſconcerted; but recovering himſelf inſtantly, he anſwered, I ſee in that picture ſubjects, rebels to their king, who deſerved the fate they met with. Grillon, whoſe firm and intrepid character never varied, felt a joy which diſcovered itſelf in his countenance, at the king's reſolute reply; who ſaw, with pleaſure, in Grillon's eyes, the ſatisfaction it gave him.

AT ſupper the king of Poland was attended by French eſcaped from the maſſacre, who had taken refuge in the elector palatine's dominions. Their looks, while they waited, were gloomy and fierce: they affected to ſpeak low to each other, and to fix their eyes on the French prince, and the lords that attended him, as if they were meditating ſome ſignal vengeance on thoſe who had deſtroyed the Calviniſts.

THE

THE king of Poland could not but perceive the inſolence of the refugees, the indecent reception of the elector, and the danger he was in to be inſulted by all the French rebels who ſurrounded him, of which the city of Heidelberg was full; but his calmneſs and preſence of mind, the aſſured aſpect that he and all his attendants aſſumed, his noble and majeſtic air, which never betrayed the leaſt ſymptom of fear, kept the refugees within the bounds of reſpect.

THIS was not the only mortification the king ſuffered upon the road. In a city of Germany, one of his favourites, for a reaſon hiſtory has affected to conceal, was ſeized; nor could this prince, by the moſt preſſing intreaties, obtain his liberty. The concern this accident gave him, determined Grillon to make him forget that and the offence, by ſetting the priſoner at liberty. The project was no ſooner formed, than executed.

GRILLON

Grillon aſſembled thoſe whom he thought the moſt capable of aſſiſting him in his enterprize: with this choſen troop he haſtened back, entered the town, went inſtantly to the priſon, which he forced open, and in preſence of thoſe, who were as much aſtoniſhed at his intrepidity as intimidated by his menaces, he ſeized the priſoner, ſet him on horſeback, and rode through the city in triumph, followed by his troop, whoſe reſolute and determined air made all it met fly trembling before it.

While this was performing, the king of Poland, who had been informed of Grillon's raſh enterprize, expected the event with an impatience equal to the terror he was under, that an attempt to recover one favourite ſhould deprive him of two, and perhaps of all thoſe who had determined to follow Grillon. He was in this perplexity, when he ſaw him return with the priſoner.

This daring enterprize, and the ſucceſs which followed it, augmented the jealouſy of Buſſi; who, incenſed at the praiſes the king

king of Poland gave to Grillon's undaunted bravery, left the king's chamber, darting at Grillon, as he went out, a look of defiance; which the other underſtanding, was reſolved to wait for an opportunity to reſent.

THE day following the king reached a town where he was to ſtay a few days. The very firſt day, Buſſi, who piqued himſelf as much on his talent for drinking as war, raiſed the curioſity of ſome Saxon gentlemen, who invited him to a magnificent entertainment with a deſign to make him drunk. Towards the end of the repaſt, Buſſi perceiving their intention, and thinking himſelf injured, reproached them with want of reſpect, and words ariſing, fell upon them ſword in hand, and wounded ſeveral.

THEY were ſoon ſurrounded by a multitude of people, who ſaw Buſſi not upon the defenſive, but attacking men whom the fumes of wine had made incapable of fighting: Buſſi not being maſter of himſelf, was ſoon overpowered by numbers, ſecured, and conducted

ducted to priſon. The next day he was tried, and condemned to die, as a quarrelſome man, the aggreſſor, and even as an aſſaſſin.

Grillon being informed of Buſſi's danger, at that inſtant forgot that they were enemies, and in Buſſi beheld a man whoſe bravery did honour to the French, and one who owed him ſatisfaction for the contemptuous look he gave him in the king's chamber. He reflected on the diſgrace it would be to the French nobility for ſuch a man as Buſſi to periſh with ſo much ignominy; that it was an inſult on the king of Poland to proceed to ſuch extremity with one who had the honour to be ranked among his attendants. Urged by theſe reaſons, Grillon ſolicited, perſuaded, ſearched for friends, who ſeconded him, and at length obtained Buſſi's liberty.

Bussi, confounded at Grillon's generoſity, was not recovered from the aſtoniſhment which had ſeized him, when he ſaw a gentleman enter his chamber, who told him, that Grillon deſired to fight him; and that

he had no other intention in the ſervice he had done him; for which he owed him no acknowlegements.

Bussi, who could not fear that his refuſal would be imputed to want of courage, anſwered the gentleman, That he ſhould be blamed by all men of honour, and fix an eternal ſtain upon his character, if he was to draw his ſword againſt a man who had juſt ſaved his life; and immediately mounting his horſe went to Grillon, after leaving his ſword in his ſaddle, he approached him with an air of frankneſs and eſteem; ſaying, To you I owe a life, which, as a proof of my gratitude, I here proteſt ſhall be ſacrificed for your ſervice: when he had ſaid theſe words, he advanced to embrace him; but Grillon, incapable of diſguiſe, rejected his offer, and declaring that he had no other motive in preſerving his life, than to deliver him from a death unworthy of a man of honour, whoſe error had only been occaſioned by wine, and in order to deprive him of that life in a combat, which he required

quired of him to put to hazard, as a proof of his gratitude.

Bussi, amazed, confused, and distressed at Grillon's resolution, stood a moment silent, pensive, and motionless; at last recovering himself, he asked Grillon with warmth, if he had only saved his life, that he might expose him to the world as a monster of ingratitude, unworthy his generosity; that he, Buffi, should purchase too dearly the service he had done him, were he to be compelled to draw his sword against his benefactor; that he should not think his honour stained, was he even tamely to bear an insult from him without revenging it.

These words, uttered with the air and tone of a man penetrated with the deepest anguish and gratitude, disarmed Grillon, who made no other answer, than giving him his hand, which Bussi with tears in his eyes tenderly pressed: thus these two great men embraced, vowing an eternal friendship for each other; of which Grillon gave Bussi many proofs.

The duke of Anjou was received in Poland with all the demonſtrations of univerſal joy; the ceremony of his coronation was performed with the greateſt pomp and magnificence: the Polanders expreſſed in their looks the high opinion they had of the merit of a prince of France. Henry ſupported this opinion by his affability, liberality, and a behaviour ſo engaging, as gained him every heart; but this was not of long continuance.

The Polanders, who were not at that time what they are at preſent, gave him frequent cauſe of uneaſineſs and diſguſt; which, joined to the ſecret regret he felt at being obliged to quit the court of France, ſoon over-clouded that ſerenity which had charmed them: they were offended too at the marks of eſteem and friendſhip which he ſhewed thoſe of his own nation; as if, by abandoning our country, we were able to conquer that ſecret bias and partiality which nature itſelf inſpires.

THE king of Poland in vain exhauſted his treaſures; thoſe who were the objects of his liberality, did not think their merit ſufficiently recompenſed: the penetration and circumſpection he employed in the diſtribution of the poſts of his kingdom, in ſuffering none but the moſt worthy to fill them, could not baniſh murmurs and diſcontent.

THE LIFE OF THE Chevalier DE GRILLON.

BOOK III.

WHILE this monarch experienced that diſquiet, anxiety, vexation, and diſguſt could reach even to the throne, Charles IX. his brother, languiſhed out his days in weakneſs. In the month of October he was ſeized with a diſorder upon his lungs attended with a fever, which waſted him ſlowly: the phyſicians forbid him the converſation of women; but his paſſion for the lovely Touchet made

made him neglect their prescriptions. He died at Vincennes on the thirtieth day of May, 1574; after having commanded that the king of Poland, as his lawful successor, should be recalled to reign in his stead *.

The news reached Poland about the fifteenth of June: the crown of France soon banished Henry's grief for the death of his brother; and the joy of once more beholding the princess of Condé made him ea-

* This prince died at the castle of Vincennes in the most exquisite torture. The cruel massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, was always in his mind; and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to shew his grief and remorse for it: he sent for the king of Navarre, in whom he acknowleged to have found faith and honour, and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. De Thou, and almost all historians agree in saying, that if he had lived, he would have been a very great prince. He possessed, in an eminent degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, oeconomy, and sobriety; he loved polite literature and learned men. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died.

Notes upon Sully.

gerly wiſh to leave Poland. He left it by night, and with the utmoſt precipitation took the road for Germany; from thence he paſſed through the ſtates of Venice: the republic received him with all the honours due to the firſt king of the world; they endeavoured, by the moſt ſplendid entertainments, to ſhew their reſpect for his perſon, and their attachment to France.

GRILLON received the moſt flattering marks of diſtinction: the ſenate ſtill full of the idea of the glorious actions he performed at Lepanto, recollected that Lewis de Berton had been a century and half ago, admitted among the number of the noble citizens of Venice, and paid him the honours due to that rank.

WHEN Grillon was at Malta, he became acquainted with the chevalier Dinteville: the ſincerity and integrity of his character, engaged Grillon's eſteem, and that eſteem was ſoon converted into friendſhip; he frequently ſaid, That thoſe who had moſt merit

merit were his beſt friends. The chevalier Dinteville was ranked among the number of the braveſt at the battle of Lepanto, where he gave marks of his valour and intrepidity, by ſupporting Grillon.

THE joy of theſe two friends was extreme when they met at Venice; they embraced each other with great tenderneſs. Grillon, unwilling to be ſeparated from a friend, whoſe frankneſs, bravery, and amiable character he ſo much eſteemed, perſuaded Dinteville, who was in the Venetian troops, to attach himſelf to the ſervice of France: he preſented him to Henry III. and declared himſelf anſwerable to that prince, for his friend's fidelity, zeal, and courage. The confidence the king repoſed in Grillon, was the ſureſt pledge of his friend's inviolable attachment to his ſervice; he gave him a company compoſed of fifty armed men: he never diſgraced the opinion Grillon had given of him to Henry: theſe two generous friends were united to each other by an eſteem which never varied. Dinte-

ville always obtained leave to ſerve with Grillon, and, excited by his example, faced death on every occaſion that called for the exertion of his intrepidity.

The family of the Dintevilles were formerly called Jaucourt; the chief of a branch of that houſe, in 1255, married an heireſs of Dinteville, upon condition that he would aſſume that name; but he preſerved the arms of Jaucourt. One Jaques de Jaucourt Dinteville was chief huntſman to Lewis duke of Orleans; in which quality he aſſiſted au pas d'armes, held in the chateau de Jaudricourt the ſixteenth of September, 1493. When that prince came to the throne he gave him the poſt of chief huntſman of France, which he held to the day of his death. The baron Dinteville was appointed by letters patent of the twentieth of December, 1579, lieutenant-general to the government of Champagne and of Brie; he had a company of fifty men, and was created a knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt in 1583.

Joachim de Jaucourt, baron de Dinteville, was at the court of France, when the the chevalier Dinteville arrived there; he expreſſed to the chevalier de Grillon, the joy it gave him, to ſee his nephew had, through his influence, quitted the ſervice of the Venetians to attach himſelf to that of France.

From Venice, where the king made ſome ſtay, he went to Turin: the marſhal d'Anville, who had joined himſelf to ſome Proteſtants and diſcontented Catholics, was alarmed at his approach: he conjured the duke of Savoy to juſtify him to the king; who, already prejudiced againſt him, had deſired the duke to give orders that he might be ſeized and delivered up to him. D'Anville having intelligence of this, fled with the utmoſt precipitation to his government of Languedoc, and there concerted meaſures with the reformed, in order to ſupport themſelves againſt the court, for their mutual ſecurity.

The

The viſcount de Paulin, with his company of horſe, and the viſcount de Saint Amand, at the head of ſix hundred men, joined him at Montpellier. As ſoon as the marſhal d'Anville had received this reinforcement, he ſeized d'Aigues-Mortes, took ſome other inconſiderable places, and committed ſeveral hoſtilities; which made him ſtill more odious to the king.

The queen went to meet the king upon the frontiers of Savoy; they gave to each other mutual proofs of tenderneſs: but there was leſs ſincerity in thoſe of Henry, than in thoſe of Catherine; by whom he was adored. He was perfectly acquainted with the character of this ambitious princeſs; whoſe love of ſway over-ruled every other inclination; and Henry was reſolved to reign. He now made uſe of thoſe arms with which Catherine had furniſhed him by inſtructing him in the art of the moſt profound diſſimulation: he proteſted to her, that he would on all occaſions be guided implicitly by her advice, and would leave

to

to her the principal direction of affairs. The queen was deceived by aſſurances ſo flattering to the paſſion for rule, which had ever been her predominant weakneſs.

When Henry arrived at Lions, Catherine preſented to him his brother the duke d'Alençon, and the king of Navarre, whom by her authority ſhe had brought from Vincennes, where Charles IX. had confined them: Henry III. received them, not as a brother and brother-in-law, but as their king; warning them of the danger they would run, if ever they were influenced by ill counſel to act contrary to their allegiance.

Never was the court more numerous, and brilliant than at Lions. All were in expectation of changes and vacancies, which each lord flattered himſelf he ſhould be deſtined to fill. Henry, however, made few of any conſequence, and thoſe with a view to do honour to the memory of Charles IX. and to the choice of the queen his mother. He created but two marſhals of France,

Blaiſe

Blaiſe de Montluc and Bellegarde, and gave to Grillon the government of Boulogne: he made him at the ſame time colonel of a regiment of horſe vacant by the removal of Duguaſt Beranger *: this regiment bore the name of Grillon till 1579, when it was diſbanded at Rouen.

In Henry III. as we have ſaid, the duke of Anjou diſappeared. No longer warmed with the noble ambition to ſuſtain the ſhining reputation he had acquired by ſo many glorious exploits, he ſtained that reputation, and ſuffered the laurels he had gathered to droop and wither. By giving himſelf up to a voluptuous eaſe and inactivity, his manners and character were changed. He became timorous, ſuſpicious, irreſolute, cunning, and deceitful. He abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous exceſſes †. He had made the principles of Machiavel his ſtudy; on theſe he built

* His commiſſion was dated Febr. 10, 1575.

† Memoirs of queen Marguerite.

his

his politics; in conſequence of this ſyſtem he attempted to conceal his vices under the maſk of devotion.

IN his youth he thought favourably of the new opinions; he abandoned them to embrace the Catholic religion; of which he was afterwards a zealous defender. Some ſay motives of policy were the ſecret ſprings that governed all his actions.

NOTHING is more liable to be depraved than the heart of even a hopeful young monarch. Every object which ſurrounds him lays ſnares in his way, which it is impoſſible for him to avoid. He cannot guard with too much vigilance againſt the firſt attacks of luxury, falſe pleaſure, and diſſipation; diſpoſitions abſolutely incompatible with that vigorous and unwearied application which his elevated ſtation demands. Every one is attentive to the weakneſs of a prince; and attacks him on that ſide. He ought to be equally on his guard againſt the artifices of favourrites and flatterers. Henry III. was a prey to both: he

liſtened

liſtened to the advices and inſinuations of ſuch, and through their hands all favours, poſts, and dignities of the court were conveyed. This evil conduct drew upon him the public hatred and contempt; his ſubjects no longer beheld him as a man whoſe virtues declared him born to reign, but as a weak, effeminate prince, abandoned to voluptuouſneſs, enervated by luxury, and incapable of application. Amorous intrigues were the only ſubjects of diſcourſe among his favourites; in theſe infamous amuſements he forgot his dignity and the duties his ſuperior ſtation required of him.

GRILLON, who was deeply affected at this change, and whoſe frank, open, and reſolute character would not allow him to be afraid of repreſenting to his prince errors of ſuch deſtructive tendency both to himſelf and people, inſtantly ſet them before him in a juſt light; and particularly told him, that the perſons by whom he was moſt governed, were his greateſt enemies; ſeeking to make Henry the Third forſake thoſe

glorious

glorious paths, in which the duke of Anjou had hitherto trod.

THE univerſal eſteem Grillon poſſeſſed, preſerved him from the diſgrace which commonly follows ſo unſeaſonable a proof of zeal. His counſel was liſtened to without reſentment, but inſtantly forgot; and all the fruit he gathered from his noble freedom, was the hatred of the favourites, who looked upon him as a ſevere and dangerous cenſor.

As ſoon as Henry arrived at Lions, all the women who thought themſelves capable of pleaſing, diſplayed their charms, to engage his heart; but they found it guarded by the image of the princeſs of Condé; who was the conſtant object of his thoughts and wiſhes. He flattered himſelf that the monarch would be more favourably received than the duke of Anjou was: but the conduct of the princeſs convinced him of the contrary. Deſpairing to vanquiſh a virtue which had hitherto reſiſted all his aſſaults, he determined to remove the only obſtacle that

that prevented her liſtening to his addreſſes without ſcruple; by interpoſing his authority to diſannul the marriage between this princeſs and the prince of Condé, by whom ſhe had no children.

When he had fixed upon this expedient, he wrote a private letter to inform the princeſs of his intentions; imploring her conſent to a divorce, which would give him the liberty to raiſe her to the throne. This letter was intercepted by the queen; who believed ſhe was authoriſed to do any thing. The knowlege ſhe had of the king's paſſion for the princeſs of Condé, had always diſturbed her; ſhe dreading that her influence over her ſon might one day be fatal to her own power. But how great was her ſurpriſe and terror, when in her ſon's letter ſhe diſcovered a concerted ſcheme to place the crown upon the princeſs of Condé's head! whoſe firm and reſolute character ſhe knew, were ſhe to cloſe with the propoſal, and who, as queen regnant, would have a right to ſuperſede the authority which

ſhe,

ſhe, as queen mother only, was ſo fond of exerciſing.

Catherine hence ſaw the neceſſity of chooſing immediately a wife for her ſon; and ſuch a lady, as might probably give princes to France, and preſerve it from the troubles and civil wars, which muſt inevitably be the conſequence of the king's dying without iſſue: but who at the ſame time was not to have the ſpirit to inſpire Henry with a deſire to reſume the reins of government, and to rekindle in his breaſt the love of glory, or to rouſe him from that life of indolence and inactivity, to which Catherine owed her authority.

The queen, in ſhort, was determined to leave nothing unattempted to oppoſe and ruin a project, which, if it ſhould ever be brought to perfection, muſt reduce her to a life of obſcurity and privacy; and in order thereto, concluded upon drawing over to her intereſt the duke de Guiſe, who had firſt kindled that paſſion which inſpired the king with the wiſh to place the princeſs of Condé on the throne.

THIS duke, as ambitious as Catherine, and who, like her, dreaded to ſee a princeſs aſcend the throne worthy to fill it, entered into the queen's views. He employed all his art and addreſs to defeat the king's project; but the princeſs, by her reſiſtance, had riveted his chains too faſt for either the duke de Guiſe, or any of the queen's emiſſaries, to break them.

HENRY, whoſe paſſion was the more increaſed by the obſtacles he met with, was but the more determined to execute his deſigns. The queen gave the prince of Condé notice; ſhe ſent him the king's letter, not doubting, as he was paſſionately fond of his wife, but he would immediately recall her from court: but the prince of Condé, aſſured of the validity of his marriage, and of the unblemiſhed virtue of the princeſs, was not in the leaſt alarmed at this information; nor impatient for his wife to leave the court, where it was neceſſary for his intereſt ſhe ſhould remain.

WHILE Catherine was employing all the variety of expedients to combat and van-

quiſh the king's paſſion, ſhe cauſed it to be repreſented to him in council, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity and tranquillity of the kingdom, that he ſhould take a queen, by whom he might have heirs. The ſiſter of the king of Sweden was propoſed, who was ſaid to be the loveliest princeſs in Europe. In this propoſal the king penetrated the queen's intentions; but, educated by her, he ſeemed to approve of the reaſons which the council had laid before him; and, the more effectually to deceive her, he ſent an ambaſſador to Stockholm, to demand in his name the princeſs of Sweden.

At this ſtep the queen thought her triumph completed; but her alarms and ſuſpicions returned, when ſhe was informed by her agents, that the king was ſecretly endeavouring to ſet aſide the princeſs of Conde's marriage; and ſaw that he was actually preparing to leave Lions, and make his entry into Paris.

His eagerneſs to go, was abated by a terrible ſhock; he received news of the

ſudden death of the princeſs of Condé. In the firſt tranſports of his grief, he could not baniſh thoſe ſuſpicions which the character of Catherine inſpired, and his deſpair would not permit him to reproach her with. His diſtreſs was equal to his tenderneſs; and made thoſe about him apprehend that he would ſink under it: but time produced its uſual effect; Henry's grief was calmed; and he conſented to marry the princeſs de Vaudemont. The nuptial ceremony was performed at Rheims, two days after his coronation.

THIS marriage threw an additional luſtre on the family of Mouy *; which had the honour of being twice allied to that of France. An heireſs of the elder branch of Mouy, widow of the duke de Joyeuſe, took for her ſecond huſband Henry de Lorraine, prince of Chaligny, brother to the queen. It was ſtipulated in the contract, that the

* They write indifferently Mouy or Moy: it is the ſame name and the ſame family.

children

children born of this marriage ſhould bear the name and arms of the houſe of Mouy.

HENRY III. was but four-and-twenty when he came to the crown: few princes at his age have aſcended a throne with a more ſhining reputation: his victories had procured him the eſteem of all Europe, and the affection of the Catholics made him formidable to the Huguenots. In a word, he had given proofs of a valour and reſolution, and of a prudence and ſteadineſs in his conduct, beyond his years.

HAD he ſupported this reputation, had he put a period to the civil war by a ſolid eſtabliſhed peace, he would have experienced the ſatisfaction which a good king feels from the conſciouſneſs of having made his ſubjects happy: this end princes ought to have principally in view, and never forget that their own glory is inſeparable from the felicity of their people.

HENRY would have met with no oppoſition from the Calviniſts, to whom peace

was

was as neceſſary as to the Catholics. The Calviniſts would have yielded up ſome of their antient pretenſions; they were already in a diſpoſition to merit the favour and indulgence of the king by their ſubmiſſion; but this prince, by a conduct unworthy of himſelf, which made him no longer feared by the Calviniſts, revived their drooping courage, and increaſed their inſolence: thus given up to his favourites, which they called minions, and devoted to ſhameful pleaſures, he became the object of their contempt and hatred.

The reign of Henry III. was a perpetual contraſt of luxury and piety, debauchery and exerciſes of religion: deſtitute of that dignity of manners and behaviour which his ſuperior ſtation required, even decency and decorum were forgot among his favourites.

The courtiers, apes of the prince, abandoned themſelves to an exceſs of licentiouſneſs: gallantry, with the decent myſtery that accompanies it; prudence, delicacy,

and

and eſteem inſeparable from love; diſappeared. The intrigues of the court and city were the ſubjects of familiar converſation between the king and his minions: the railleries which followed, frequently occaſioned duels, which ſometimes deprived the ſtate of its moſt uſeful ſubjects.

THE queen's prudence and eſteem for Grillon made her tremble, leſt a man whoſe wiſdom and ſword were ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of his country, ſhould be the victim in a quarrel between him and d'Entragues. She had recourſe to every art to prevent a combat which poſſibly might have been fatal to two of the greateſt men of the age.

D'ENTRAGUES was intirely devoted to the intereſts of the Guiſes; Grillon, ever ſteady to thoſe of the king, had deſerted them: this was the original ſource of a coldneſs between theſe two favourites; one of the Guiſes, the other of the king. The honour of two ladies of the court was concerned in their quarrel. The king being informed of this, ſent to them directly

Rambouillet, captain of the guards, to forbid their coming to extremity; at the ſame time he ordered monſieur de Nevers and the marſhal de Retz to endeavour to reconcile them: they in vain made uſe of every argument in their power to convince them, that the ſubject of their quarrel could not oblige two men, whoſe valour was univerſally acknowleged, to fight, in diſobedience to the expreſs command of their king. This prince ſeeing their obſtinacy, had recourſe to mediators of all characters; biſhops, marſhals of France, princes, and friends; but all without effect.

The queen then interpoſed: ſhe ſent a meſſage to Grillon and d'Entragues to meet her in her cloſet; ſhe there required them to ſubmit to her deciſion, when they ſhould have laid before her the grounds of their diſagreement: but both expreſſing an equal unwillingneſs to obey the command of the queen; and ſhe obſerving they began to call in queſtion her authority, ſhe laid aſide the ſovereign, who ought to be obeyed;

obeyed; and aſſumed the character of the friend, who intereſted herſelf in the ſafety of two perſons ſo worthy of her eſteem. She then conjured them not to refuſe her the glory of ſucceeding in an attempt which the marſhals of France, the princes, and the king himſelf had failed in: ſhe exerted ſo effectually her talent of perſuaſion, that Grillon and d'Entragues were ſubdued.

THE queen commanded them to embrace; and to declare in her preſence, that their reconciliation was as ſincere, as the gratitude ſhe felt for the ſacrifice they had made her of their reſentment, ſhould be warm and laſting. Flattered with this ſucceſs, ſhe ordered them to follow her to the king: I preſent to you, ſaid ſhe, two friends; who are determined never to draw their ſwords but in defence of their ſovereign and their country.

I AM leſs ſurprized than pleaſed, anſwer'd Henry, at the triumph you have gained; it is but the natural effect of that power which the ſuperiority of your ſoul gives you

over all others. Then turning to Grillon and d'Entragues; he added, ſmiling, I pardon your obſtinate oppoſition to my will; and commend the deference you ſhewed to the commands of my mother; we ought all three to return her thanks for this happy event.

It were to be wiſhed Catherine had ſhewn the ſame earneſtneſs to quiet the troubles of the ſtate; but this would have been contrary to her views: by ſcattering the ſeeds of jealouſy among oppoſite parties, ſhe made herſelf neceſſary to all; by exciteing civil wars in the kingdom, ſhe obliged the king and the duke d'Alençon to have recourſe to the fertility of her expedients to procure peace, or carry on the war: it was then ſhe ſacrificed to the intereſts of her ambition, the dignity of the ſtate, the tranquillity of the people, the lives of the nobility, and the glory of her children. What a queen, what a mother was this! How dangerous ſuch a character to perſons in every ſtation of life! The retreat of the

duke

duke d'Alençon, who retired to Dreux, a city of his appennage, was looked upon at court as an effect of her refined policy: ſeveral diſcontented Huguenots joined him there, and formed an army.

The duke d'Alençon's numerous followers alarmed the king; he re-aſſembled his troops, and gave the command to the duke de Guiſe; and apprehending that the duke d'Alençon's party (which ſtrengthened every day) might in time become too powerful to be eaſily ſubdued, he deſired the queen his mother to go to that prince, and prevail with him to liſten to terms of accommodation. What Henry required of Catherine was quite agreeable to her character; but ſhe diſſembled a reluctance to comply with his requeſt, that ſhe might make him ſenſible how much he ſtood in need of her preſence and counſel. It was not doubted but that this ambitious princeſs, jealous and uneaſy at the aſcendant the minions had over the king, and in order to make herſelf more neceſſary, influenced the duke

d'Alençon, as is above hinted, to leave the court.

The duke de Guiſe, who had encamped, met near Chateau-Thierri a detachment which the prince of Condé had ſent to the duke d'Alençon: he attacked and defeated it. This victory made him be looked upon by the Catholics as the firmeſt ſupport of a religion, which all the princes of that auguſt houſe had fought and expoſed their lives to defend *.

This advantage made the duke d'Alençon leſs averſe to liſten to the propoſal the queen made him of a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix months; and the rather, as the counſels of this princeſs were the guides of his conduct. The conditions of the truce were as humbling for the Catholics, as honourable for the Calviniſts; all their demands were complied with; but it was hoped that they

* It was in this engagement that the duke de Guiſe received a wound in his cheek, which gave him the ſurname of Balafré; a name he always gloried in.

might

might be compelled to yield up ſome of theſe privileges in the treaty for peace which was now approaching.

WHILE all were employed in endeavouring to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, the king of Navarre's flight gave birth to new troubles. That prince had formed this project in concert with the duke d'Alençon, unknown to the queen; but a tender engagement attaching him ſtrongly to the court, it was found neceſſary, in order to tear him from it, to repreſent to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, that an infinite number of eyes were open to his conduct; that, feared and hated by Catherine, no action of his could paſs unnoticed. In ſhort, they endeavoured to perſuade him that his liberty was in danger: ſeveral diſcontented courtiers, particularly Fervaques, Lavardin, and Roquelaure, promiſed to follow him, and to ſeize ſeveral places.

BY an effect of that inconſiſtence and mutability ſo common among men, the king of Navarre had no ſooner made his

eſcape, but Fervaques gave Henry information that Roquelaure and Lavardin had agreed to follow him, and take poſſeſſion of ſome towns. The king gave immediate orders to have them ſecured; but they were already fled. Fervaques was ſuſpected to have delayed giving this intelligence till he was aſſured they had made their eſcape, that he might by this means make his court, and have the appearance of a ſubject faithful to his king, and zealous for his ſervice. Some perſons, who were enemies of Fervaques, or envious of the favour he was in, gave Henry intimation of this; who in his wrath declared, that his head ſhould anſwer for his treachery.

GRILLON and ſeveral other courtiers were at the king's couchée, when Henry pronounced this menace, and added, that whoever gave notice to the traitor, ſhould ſhare his fate. Grillon ſaw Henry's fury without ſurpriſe; but knowing him capable of deſtroying an innocent man, he trembled with horror when he heard him

vow the death of Fervaques, a man of quality, and an officer of acknowleged bravery: prejudiced in his favour, he could not believe him capable of ſo mean an artifice; but even ſuppoſing him guilty, he did not think his crime deſerved an ignominious death: to ſecure his perſon, and make him priſoner, was all the puniſhment that he thought his fault merited. But that moderation which can calmly proportion the puniſhment to the crime, was unknown to Henry III; of a diſpoſition which inclined him always to extremes, his frenzy ſeldom knew any bounds.

GRILLON, agitated by a thouſand different reflections, was equally alarmed at the violent reſolution of the king and the imminent danger to which Fervaques was expoſed: diſtinguiſhed for a magnanimity which made him incapable of fear, he reſolved to ſave him; and deſpiſing the danger of a diſcovery, the exceſſive delicacy of his friendſhip perſuaded him that he ought to run all hazards to preſerve the

life of a man of honour, and hinder the king from doing an injuſtice which would render him ſtill more odious to his ſubjects. He went to him, and ſaid, My dear Fervaques, the king, who is perſuaded that you have favoured the eſcape of Roquelaure and Lavardin, under pretence of giving them up to his vengeance, has vowed your death: I do not aſk you to confeſs whether his ſuſpicions are juſt; to juſtify myſelf for the ſtep I am going to take, I am willing to believe you innocent: fly this inſtant, and ſave your life from the king's rage.

How ſenſible am I, replied Fervaques, of this heroic proof of your friendſhip: I am reſolved to fly, not from a ſenſe of guilt, but to eſcape the fury of a king who ſo little merits the fidelity of his ſubjects, or the generous and inviolable attachment of the brave Grillon. Fervaques inſtantly fled, and joined the king of Navarre.

Henry was extremely incenſed when he heard of Fervaques's eſcape: he was for

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ſome moments uncertain on which of thoſe who had heard him vow Fervaques's death, to fix his ſuſpicions; but at length they fell upon Grillon. His eſteem for him, while it made him wiſh him innocent, added ſtrength to thoſe ſuſpicions.

HENRY was agitated with theſe different emotions, when Grillon appeared before him: Fervaques (ſaid he to him, with a look of rage) has eſcaped my vengeance, and leaves me no other hope of executing it, but upon him who has been the inſtrument of his eſcape. Do you know who the man is? Yes, Sire, replied Grillon: Well then, ſaid the king with warmth, name him.

I WILL never be the accuſer of any beſides myſelf, anſwered Grillon; but the fear of expoſing the innocent to your majeſty's reſentment, obliges me to give up the guilty: yes, Sire, ſee before you the man you ought to puniſh; one who would have conſidered himſelf as the aſſaſſin of Fervaques, had he concealed from him a ſecret

on

on which his life depended; mine is at your diſpoſal; but it is leſs dear to me than the honour of ſaving a ſubject (poſſibly innocent of the crime laid to his charge) whoſe blood may be one day uſefully ſhed in your majeſty's ſervice.

A CHARACTER ſo uniformly great as that of Grillon, has a ſuperior power and influence over all men, even the moſt vicious. The king, aſtoniſhed at his noble frankneſs, ſtood a minute gazing on him, and unable to ſpeak; at laſt breaking ſilence, he ſaid, As there is but one Grillon in the world, my clemency in his favour will not be pleaded as an example: Grillon (added Henry) my admiration at the reſolution you have ſhewn, in confeſſing your fault; your blood ſo often ſhed for my ſervice; your unſhaken zeal for my intereſts; all urge me to pardon and preſerve to myſelf ſuch a ſubject.

GRILLON's generoſity to Fervaques, and his reſolution in expoſing himſelf to the king's rage, excited as much envy as amaze-

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ment in the courtiers: ſhame mingled with their admiration, and obliged them to own how difficult it was to reſemble him.

HENRY had been greatly affected and diſturbed at the duke d'Alençon's flight, and was now incenſed at the king of Navarre's: he ſuſpected queen Marguerite his ſiſter of having ſacrificed his intereſt to theſe two princes, one of them her huſband: convinced that ſhe was informed of their deſigns, he confined her to her apartment, and placed guards about it, who had orders, at the peril of their lives, to ſuffer nobody to ſee her. Fear and intereſt checked and reſtrained the gratitude which ſeveral courtiers owed her for the ſervices ſhe had done them. They had no power to make any other reflection, but that their gratitude might be the occaſion of their diſgrace.

GRILLON, leſs politic, and more daring, ſincerely attached to the ſiſter of his king, and ſenſible that in her ſituation ſhe wanted the conſolation of her friends, heſitated not a mo-

a moment to make her a viſit: he preſented himſelf at her chamber-door; the guards attempted to oppoſe his entrance, which he forced, telling them with a menacing air, that the king knew of his viſit to the queen of Navarre, and that their lives ſhould anſwer for their inſolence: the aſſurance they had that the effect would follow the menace, made them ſilent and ſubmiſſive. Several viſits paſſed between them, of which Henry was never informed.

Queen Marguerite, who had as much tenderneſs and ſenſibility, as delicacy and penetration, was deeply affected at the ſtep Grillon took; a ſtep which gave proof of a generoſity and reſolution which he alone was capable of exerting, and which his attachment to that princeſs had inſpired. Thus the queen of Navarre expreſſes herſelf on the occaſion in her memoirs.

"In this ſituation (ſays ſhe) I have remained ſome months, deſerted by my moſt intimate friends, who were afraid of loſing the favour they ſtood in. In courts,

" courts, adverſity is condemned to ſoli-
" tude, as proſperity is always ſurrounded
" by crouds of followers. Even the num-
" ber of the perſecutors of the unhappy
" is augmented by thoſe whom we thought
" our deareſt friends. The brave Grillon
" alone, ſuperior to the fear of diſgrace,
" or the authority of unjuſt prohibition,
" came five or ſix times into my chamber:
" he ſtruck ſuch terror into the Cerberus's
" that guarded my door, that they dared
" not refuſe him entrance."

The king of Navarre's retreat increaſed the inſolence of the Huguenots; they relied more on that prince, than on the duke d'Alençon, whom they knew to be abſolutely governed by his mother: they imagined that by having a prince of the blood at their head, their party would become more powerful. The court, which looked on him as a formidable adverſary, endeavoured ſecretly to take advantage of the truce, to make a peace; which concluded with thoſe conditions the duke d'Alençon required;

required; conditions which made the enemies of the Catholic religion triumph; and it was the preſumptive heir to the crown of France (whoſe kings are honoured with the glorious title of Moſt Chriſtian) that obtained them. The Calviniſts were permitted the public exerciſe of their religion, who were called the pretended reformed.

THE duke d'Alençon appeared at court with the air and confidence of a prince covered with laurels, when he ought rather to have bluſhed at triumphs which made him contemptible to all good Catholics: this weak prince, incapable of reflection, and ſtill more of feeling that he betrayed his own intereſts, congratulated himſelf on having obtained edicts that were the eternal ſources of civil wars: in effect, the Catholics conſidering that juſt publiſhed, as tending to deſtroy true religion, entered into a kind of league; the ſcheme of which was drawn up at Peronne: this league appeared formed for the defence of the Catholic religion; and all its profeſſors engaged

gaged to ſupport each other againſt thoſe who ſhould attack it.

SUCH was the origin of this celebrated league, which coſt France ſo much blood: the duke de Guiſe was the author of it, and wanted to be its chief; his real views were different from thoſe he declared to the people; he aſpired to the government of the ſtate; but his ambition concealed itſelf under an appearing zeal for religion. The league could not aſſume a more ſpecious pretence, nor one more likely to ſeduce thoſe who were already apprehenſive that Calviniſm would be the governing religion. All who were ſteadily attached to the antient belief, entered into this union, or rather revolt.

THE king of Spain, who wanted to kindle a civil war in France, declared himſelf protector of the league; and the emiſſaries of the duke de Guiſe exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour and circumſpection, that this party became more formidable to the king, than that of the Huguenots.

nots. Had Henry been guided by Catherine's policy, he would have bent his whole attention to ſet one faction in oppoſition to the other; but the people had been too much accuſtomed to this artifice to be any longer deceived by it; beſides, this ſyſtem was no longer in ſeaſon: it was abſolutely neceſſary that the king ſhould take his meaſures, and be ſteady to one party; his intereſt required him to favour the league; he had reaſon to apprehend the duke de Guiſe (whoſe ambition, ſupported by the authority he had in that party, might make him maſter of the kingdom) would aſpire to be chief. All theſe reaſons united, determined the king to declare himſelf head of the league; by this ſtep he broke the meaſures of the duke de Guiſe, who wanted to aſſume that title; and who already exerciſed all the power that belonged to it.

The Huguenots looked upon the league as a party formed in oppoſition to them; and they were the more confirmed in this opinion,

opinion, when the ſtates aſſembled at Blois, had determined that no religion but the Catholic ſhould be tolerated in France; and when they had confirmed the authority of the league, which was ſigned by the king, by his brother who had juſt taken the title of duke of Anjou (but whom I ſhall always call duke d'Alençon), and by a great number of princes and Catholic lords.

This edict was looked upon as a ſignal for war; both parties made preparations for it: the Catholics were at firſt ſucceſsful; the duke d'Alençon took la Charité and Iſſoire: the duke de Mayenne, whom the king had appointed lieutenant-general of the league, after forcing the prince of Condé to raiſe the ſiege of Saintes, took Brouage, Tonnay-Charante, Marans, and ſurrounded Rochelle.

The marſhal d'Anville, who had made his peace with the court, exerted all his influence to draw over to the king's party thoſe places he had excited to revolt; but while he was employed in quelling a ſedition

tion at Beziers, the Huguenots having intelligence of his deſigns, in order to fruſtrate them, in his abſence took poſſeſſion of Montpellier; from whence they drove the marſhal: they next proceeded to ſeize ſome of the neighbouring towns; and choſe for their general Thoré, though a Catholic, and brother to the marſhal.

THE marſhal de Bellegarde being informed of this, approached with Grillon, and gave orders to ſet fire to ſeveral places adjacent to Niſmes, where Thoré had retreated: never was there a more affecting ſpectacle; it was the ſeaſon of harveſt, and the corn became a prey to the flames; thus the expectation of a plentiful harveſt, and the fruits of many years labour, was in an inſtant deſtroyed: Grillon, with mingled horror and reluctance, ſaw his regiment employed in a work in which valour was uſeleſs; he deſired Bellegarde to appoint his regiment to leſs dreadful executions: the marſhal, who greatly eſteemed Grillon, afterwards made uſe of none but Italian ſoldiers in the like cruelties.

WHILE the contending parties were proſecuting the war with the utmoſt rage and cruelty, they drew up at Poitiers new propoſals of accommodation; ſome alterations were made in the laſt edict of pacification, in favour of the Huguenots: theſe compliances, by betraying the intereſts of religion, convinced the Huguenots that they were ſtill formidable to their enemies.

PEACE being concluded, hoſtilities ceaſed. Catherine took advantage of this calm, to procure an interview between queen Marguerite her daughter, and the king of Navarre: they had ſeveral converſations together on the methods they were to purſue, in order to eſtabliſh in the kingdom a laſting tranquillity: the town of Nerac was choſen for theſe conferences; they terminated to the advantage of the king of Navarre.

FOUR places of ſurety, beſides thoſe he had already, were granted him. At the requeſt of this prince they ſtretched ſome articles of the peace of Poitiers in the Huguenots

nots favour. Pibrac, one of thoſe who aſſiſted by the king's command at theſe conferences, was accuſed of having ſacrificed the intereſts of his religion and ſovereign, to obtain the favour of queen Marguerite; whoſe charms had made an impreſſion upon this grave and celebrated magiſtrate.

The queen-mother, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of her negotiation, aſſembled the ſtates of Languedoc, in the city of Caſtelnaudari; but upon being informed that the minions were endeavouring to undermine her intereſt with her ſon, ſhe returned to Paris. She found the king employed in ſearching after ſome expedient that might tempt the lords of the court to abandon the Calviniſt party; he could fix upon no charm ſo effectual for that purpoſe, as the proſpect of honours: it was upon this occaſion he inſtituted the order of the Holy Ghoſt; none but thoſe who made profeſſion of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion, could be inveſted with this dignity: hereſy, by an irrevocable ſtatute of that order,

order, was a brand of excluſion; that eager purſuit of honours, for which men too frequently ſacrifice honour itſelf, was unknown to the Huguenots; their chiefs on the contrary, took meaſures to carry on the war with vigour, in caſe of a rupture.

ALL the inhabitants of the LowCountries, haraſſed and depreſſed under the yoke of the king of Spain, determined on a ſudden to ſhake it off; but ſenſible they were too weak to ſuſtain their revolt without the ſuccour of ſome foreign potentate, they propoſed to Henry III. to throw themſelves into his protection: this prince's refuſal determined them to demand the duke d'Alençon for their ſovereign, and to ſupply him with ſufficient force to oppoſe the king of Spain.

CATHERINE had more than one reaſon to wiſh that the duke d'Alençon might be ſovereign of the Low Countries; her prevailing inducement was ambition; the next, the hope of ſeeing the court enjoy that tranquillity which this prince was perpetually interrupting

terrupting by exciting diſcord and confuſion: ſhe flattered herſelf that the ſplendor of this eſtabliſhment might induce queen Elizabeth to accept him for her huſband: Catherine, long eager for the execution of this project, had taken ſeveral ſecret ſteps to forward its ſucceſs; the preſent conjuncture appeared a favourable one to obtain Henry III's conſent.

The various and inconſiſtent conduct of the duke d'Alençon, who ſometimes ſeemed to be in the intereſts of the king his brother; at others, influenced by ſome imaginary cauſe of diſcontent, went over to the Calviniſt faction; made him at once hated and miſtruſted by Henry, who was equally diſguſted and conſtrained by the duke, whether he was abſent or preſent; which occaſioned him to liſten to the propoſals Catherine made him, to aſſiſt her in the ſcheme ſhe had projected, to procure for that prince the ſovereignty of the Low Countries, and exalt him to the throne of England. She had no ſooner obtained the king's conſent,

than

than ſhe renewed the propoſals of marriage ſhe had before made to queen Elizabeth.

Preparations for the duke's voyage to London were making with the utmoſt magnificence; his equipage and retinue were ſuitable to the grandeur of a brother of Henry III. He took his leave; and was followed by an ambaſſador the king ſent to Elizabeth.

Though Catherine remembered ſhe had before been amuſed by the ſubtle Elizabeth, when ſhe made propoſals of marriage for Henry III. then duke of Anjou, ſhe once more put it in the power of that princeſs to deceive her: ſhe hoped at leaſt to draw this advantage from her attempt, to abate the ardor of that queen's affection to the Calviniſts, and to incline her to favour the duke d'Alençon's views upon the Low Countries.

That prince owed the honour he received, and the magnificence of his reception at London, to the policy of queen Elizabeth and the Engliſh: her intereſts required her to diſſemble, and conſent in

appearance to place the duke d'Alençon on the throne of England, in order to facilitate and give a luſtre to the conqueſt of the Low Countries: to favour this deſign, troops were levied in France under various pretences. Elizabeth wiſhed to ſee Flanders under any other government than that of the king of Spain, whoſe ambitious enterprizes were the ſources of jealouſy and uneaſineſs to all the neighbouring potentates.

In this view Elizabeth received with complaiſance the reſpectful aſſiduities of the duke d'Alençon; but ſhe ſoon perceived that his underſtanding was extremely limitted: Catherine, who knew him better than Elizabeth, on this principally founded her hopes, that this princeſs, jealous of governing alone, might be induced to marry the duke d'Alençon, without apprehending the decreaſe of her authority.

Queen Elizabeth favoured the illuſion they were under, by preſenting the duke a ring from her own finger, and aſking his in return. To ſo many flattering diſtinctions,

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deſigned to impoſe on the duke's credulity, were joined every mark of the moſt reſpectful eſteem and attention from the Engliſh. Catherine was once more deceived, and now thought her ſon's marriage certain; but the difficulties Elizabeth was perpetually raiſing, and the good-will of the Engliſh ſeeming to cool, ſhe was convinced that Elizabeth, more ſubtle than herſelf, had only hitherto amuſed the duke.

Henry, tired with theſe delays, ſent François de Monpenſier, prince-dauphin, to induce Elizabeth to explain herſelf: thus urged, ſhe was obliged to declare, That the Engliſh nation would not conſent to accept for their ſovereign a prince of France; but ſhe promiſed to aſſiſt the duke d'Alençon in the conqueſt of the Low Countries. After a tedious ſtay at the court of London, this prince, humbled and mortified to the higheſt degree, returned to Paris.

The Huguenots, impatient for war, did not wait for the Catholics to be the aggreſ-

ſors; they ſeized ſeveral places, particularly Fere, which the prince of Condé had taken poſſeſſion of, under pretence that this city belonged to his family; and that the rebels made incurſions to the very gates of Paris.

The prince of Condé's ſucceſs in Picardy, was followed by that of the king of Navarre in Quercy; victories which augmented the high opinion both parties entertained of that prince; who by his foreſight, activity, and bravery, ſupplying the want of troops, made himſelf maſter of Cahors.

Henry, aſtoniſhed to ſee the king of Navarre and the duke d'Alençon again in arms, was ſenſible of the eminent danger their rapid ſucceſſes threatened him with; he then recollected the figure he had formerly made, as duke of Anjou; and took a firm reſolution to raiſe immediately three armies, which might be not only ſtrong enough to ſtop the progreſs of his enemies conqueſts; but by convincing them of the

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impoſſibility of continuing the war, compel them to ſeek for peace. The judicious choice he made of generals, proved, that when he would exert himſelf, he was capable of reflecting; that he had diſcernment enough to fix upon juſt meaſures, and reſolution enough to put them in execution. The marſhal de Matignon was appointed to command the army in Picardy; Biron in Guyenne; and the duke de Mayenne, by a refined ſtroke of policy, was choſen for that of Dauphiné.

THE marſhal de Matignon convinced of the neceſſity of retaking la Fere, and how glorious it would be for him to deprive the rebels of that town, exerted all his military talents not to fail in this attempt; he was ſeconded by the king's choſen troops, and by an infinite number of nobility, valiant and inured to war, who followed him; but the perſon on whom he moſt relied, was Grillon; his reputation and ardor for glory, hazarding his life on all occaſions with the moſt daring intrepidity, animated

and encouraged the ſoldiers, and inſpired the nobility with an emulation to tread in the ſteps of a man for whom they had the utmoſt reſpect and eſteem.

It was at this ſiege that the king made him field-ſerjeant-general; the poſt of field-marſhal was not yet known; that of field-ſerjeant-general was immediately under the general of the army; that is, inferior to a marſhal of France, but ſuperior to a lieutenant-general.

This ſiege laſted almoſt the whole campaign; it was one of the moſt memorable in that age; the beſiegers and the beſieged gave proofs of equal bravery, and gained immortal honour. The prince of Condé, who had foreſeen the ſiege, went himſelf to demand ſuccour of the Proteſtant princes of Germany, and forgot nothing to fortify the place: he ſtationed there the eldeſt ſon of Montgomery and Mouy, with ſome choſen Calviniſt troops of Picardy and Normandy.

The

The marſhal, who was apprehenſive the beſieged might receive ſuccours, determined to ſtorm the baſtion de Vendome; convinced that the carrying this poſt would facilitate the taking the town, he ordered a detachment to make the attempt: the attack was reſolute; Grillon commanded. The governor oppoſed to this formidable enemy the beſt troops, and moſt experienced officers of the gariſon. Never was any poſt more obſtinately diſputed; Grillon was preſent in every part; where-ever he appeared, his example encouraged his followers, and ſtruck the enemy with terror.

La Valette, afterwards duke d'Epernon, one of Henry's favourites, ordered ſome culverins to be erected againſt the baſtion, which made a terrible execution; but la Mothe, St. Marc, and the reſt of the officers that defended the baſtion, were leſs diſmayed at the dreadful effects of the cannon, than at the conduct and intrepidity of Grillon, who, though covered with wounds, refuſed to deſert his poſt till the baſtion was carried.

The loſs of this baſtion forced the governor, who had no hopes of being ſuccoured, to capitulate; which he did, on condition that the principal officers of the army would engage to ſee the articles of the capitulation executed The Catholics loſt at this ſiege four thouſand men; the beſieged eight hundred ſoldiers and thirty gentlemen; thus was this wretched country depopulated by its ſons, who ſeemed bent upon each others deſtruction.

The chevalier Dinteville, eager to follow the example of Grillon, and to ſecond his attempts, was wounded in the attack of the baſtion; but, more diſquieted for Grillon than himſelf, he inſiſted upon being carried to his houſe; where theſe two friends, in the pleaſure of being together, waited without impatience the cure of their wounds.

The duke d'Alençon, impatient to complete the conqueſt of the Low Countries, reſolved to uſe his endeavours to make peace between the two parties: the king gave his conſent; upon which the duke d'Alen-

d'Alençon repaired to Libourne, a city of Foix; where he was joined by the king of Navarre. The duke de Montpenſier, the marſhal de Coſſé, and Pomponne, were ſent by the king to Libourne; who being aſſured of their fidelity, zeal, and capacity, appointed them as aſſociates to the duke d'Alençon, on whom he had little reliance. Henry had the glory of giving peace to two parties who equally ſtood in need of it: it was concluded notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Condé, who often differed in opinion from the king of Navarre.

The Catholics and Huguenots, during three years, adhered ſtrictly to the articles agreed on: they contented themſelves with watching each others motions; with being upon their guard; and always prepared to take up arms upon the leaſt alarm. The artful Catherine took care in every treaty to furniſh the Huguenots with a pretence to break the peace: this was one of the ſecret ſprings which actuated a ſyſtem of politics ſo fatal to her country.

THE treaty being ſigned, the duke d'Alençon, at his return to Paris, prepared with all poſſible expedition for Flanders. Henry III. had given him permiſſion ſecretly to raiſe troops, and to be followed by all the nobility and officers who offered to aſſiſt him in the execution of his enterprize. The number of theſe, which was conſiderable, by raiſing the duke d'Alençon's hopes, ſeemed to aſſure him of carrying his point.

THEIR firſt ſetting out was glorious; they ſucceſsfully relieved Cambray. This year the king gave Grillon the command of the regiment of guards *. This prince thought he could not truſt his perſon to one more faithful to his intereſts, nor more capable of fulfilling the duties of ſo important a poſt. Henry reaped the fruits of this diſcernment on ſeveral occaſions afterwards. The mean opinion this warrior had of the genius and capacity of the duke d'Alençon, made him refuſe to aſſiſt him in his attempt

* His commiſſion was dated September 15, 1581.

upon

upon the Low Countries; apprehending this enterprize would be as unſucceſsful, as his project of marriage with Elizabeth.

Grillon, whoſe warlike diſpoſition would not ſuffer him to remain in a ſtate of indolence and inactivity, took advantage of a peace (which promiſed to be laſting) to travel: he aſked the king's permiſſion; and communicated his intention to Dinteville, who deſired to accompany him.

The chevalier de Grillon, who eagerly wiſhed to be once more in the midſt of a family which was very dear to him, went to Avignon. After a ſtay of ſix months there, he viſited his relations at Turin: the duke of Savoy received him with that diſtinction which his birth and reputation deſerved.

That prince was fond of converſing with Grillon on the ſubject of war: he made him give a relation of the ſieges and battles he had been in; and was infinitely delighted with Grillon's animated deſcriptions; which he uſed to ſay, tranſported him,

him, as it were, to the very ſpot, and made him fancy himſelf preſent in every battle he related; but in the recital of his moſt illuſtrious actions, he gave proofs of a modeſty which did him great honour.

Soon after his arrival at Turin, he became acquainted with two Proteſtants who had taken refuge there: one was called Lamortie, and the other Langlade. Langlade was ſoft and gentle in his manners; and to an underſtanding enlightened and cultivated, he joined the greateſt generoſity and ſimplicity of heart: his perſon was graceful; his countenance open and engaging: the horror he felt at the cruelties both parties exerciſed againſt each other, determined him to retreat to Piedmont.

The calamities of Lamortie had, on the contrary, made his diſpoſition ſavage and gloomy: his father and two brothers were ſacrificed before his eyes on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. A relation of his, who was his friend, and a Catholic, reſcued him from the general maſſacre, by ſeizing the arm

arm that was lifted to deſtroy him; and afterwards favoured his eſcape, by perſuading him to mingle among thoſe of the conſpiracy: furious and enraged at his wrongs, and feigning himſelf of their party, he ſacrificed all he met to the Manes of his father and brothers. His vengeance, though not ſatiated, being in ſome degree aſſuaged, he ſought an aſylum in Turin; where he entered into the troops of the duke of Savoy.

THE more intimately Grillon knew Langdale, the more his eſteem and friendſhip for him augmented. He obſerved with pain, that his and Lamortie's fortunes were not eaſy. He offered Langlade his aſſiſtance with ſo much delicacy, and ſo preſſing an earneſtneſs, that he forced him to accept it. A graceful manner of obliging, ſubdues minds capable of feeling.

LAMORTIE's ſilent and penſive turn, excited Grillon's curioſity and ſurprize; and the more, as his reputation for valour and integrity intereſted him in his favour: this curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied.

ONE

One day, when Lamortie was at Grillon's houſe, he related to him, in preſence of Dinteville, the fatal occaſion of his leaving his country; where injuſtice, treaſon, rage, and perfidy, armed the Catholics againſt their countrymen; where a king, who diſgraced that ſacred character by his vices and weakneſſes, ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his favourites; and by a woman, who, to the impulſes of ambition, ſacrificed ſubjects, religion, and her own children. When he had finiſhed his relation, as if tranſported with rage, he added a wiſh, that he had power to deſtroy every Catholic before the eyes of this deteſted prince, and then drag him from his throne. I am a Frenchman and a Catholic, anſwered Grillon; and as a man of honour, and attached to my king, it is my duty to make him a ſacrifice of ſuch a ſubject.

The challenge was accepted: they went down into the ſtreet; and Lamortie ſhewed himſelf worthy his adverſary in this combat; in which Grillon gave him a wound, with which

which he fell to the ground. Charmed with Lamortie's valour, and his honour being ſatisfied, he ordered him to be conveyed to his ſurgeon's room; where, when his wounds were dreſſed, they were pronounced not mortal.

DINTEVILLE, diſturbed at this accident, reproached Grillon, and ſaid, You was afraid your ſword ſhould grow ruſty in its ſcabbard, or you would not have drawn it againſt an unfortunate man, whoſe calamities but too much juſtified his ſentiments of, and hatred to, the Catholics. You owe to your own character the behaviour you now ſhew him; it is the only way to make amends for your violence.

THE chevalier Dinteville's prudent reproof made a lively impreſſion on Grillon; he bluſhed at having drawn his ſword againſt a man ſo juſtly incenſed at the government of France and the French Catholics; he reproached himſelf for his impetuoſity, and pitied Lamortie: he deſired Dinteville to go into his chamber, and aſ-

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ſure him of the grief with which he reflected on their combat; and to ſwear to him an unalterable friendſhip, founded on the eſteem his valour had inſpired him with; and to aſk, if receiving a viſit from him would occaſion an emotion which might be fatal to his health.

Dinteville executed this commiſſion with extreme pleaſure; and returned to tell Grillon, that Lamortie, confuſed, and affected at his generoſity, waited with the utmoſt impatience for an opportunity to implore his pardon for his inconſiderate heat, and thank him for the leſſon he had taught him.

The chevalier de Grillon, deeply affected at this meſſage, went into his chamber, followed by Dinteville: he embraced Lamortie; and they made each other mutual apologies; Lamortie for his indiſcreet warmth, and Grillon for having reſented it, when it ought rather to have excited his pity, that he had ſo juſt a reaſon to hate the French Catholics. When he had ſaid this, fearing

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to make him talk too much, he left him, and went for ſome time to his friends at Quiers: he there beheld with extreme regret the ſplendid ruins of his houſe and country: after making ſome regulations in the eſtates of his anceſtors, he returned to Turin. When he was preparing to continue his voyage through Italy, Langlade and Lamortie expreſſed their grief at their ſeparation. Grillon perceiving that diſcretion alone made them conceal the deſire they had to accompany him, propoſed it to them; and took upon himſelf to obtain the duke of Savoy's permiſſion.

The ſtrong attachment of theſe gentlemen to Grillon was unalterable; they had as much tenderneſs and affection for the goodneſs of his heart, as reverence for his more ſhining qualities; in him they beheld a father whom they loved, and who loved them. Grillon ſaw with regret two men, for whom he had the warmeſt friendſhip, profeſſors of a religion different from his, uſeleſs to their country, and reduced to the

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ſcanty income of an employment which could ſcarce ſupport them.

The chevalier went firſt to Venice; where he was welcomed, as one whoſe eſtabliſhed reputation intitled him to the higheſt reſpect: he there received the dignity of a noble Venetian, which had been conferred upon his fifth anceſtor, in 1409, on the 24th of March; Michael Zeno then doge. From thence he went to Rome; where he found many pleaſing inducements to prolong his ſtay in that capital: beloved by the pope, and reſpected by the great, he would not have left it ſo ſoon, had he not received intelligence that the Calviniſts and Catholics were again preparing to take up arms. Henry III. diſpatched a courier to recall him.

If this order was welcome to Grillon, it was a thunder-ſtroke to Langlade and Lamortie; they anticipated the anguiſh they ſhould feel at being ſeparated from a man whom they conſidered as their benefactor, and as a pattern of every virtue.

While

While they were making theſe reflections, Grillon was preparing for his departure: the nearer it approached, the more they were agitated; at length both, addreſſing him with a kind of tranſport, ſaid, The religion of the brave Grillon muſt be the beſt; our friendſhip for him and his virtues has given him up two Catholics, who determine never to be ſeparated from the moſt amiable of men. Grillon, aſtoniſhed and tranſported with joy to have the glory of reſtoring two ſuch men to his religion and his country, made them no anſwer but by a tender embrace.

Lamortie and Langlade followed him to Paris, where he gave them poſts which placed them in much more advantageous ſituations than they were before: he engaged to promote them; and found the greater facility in acquitting himſelf of his promiſe, as their own valour and ability juſtified the diſtinction he ſhewed them.

A few days after his arrival, the king made him a knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt.

Ghoſt. This prince, when he preſented him with it, ſaid, Since Grillon is obliged to quit the croſs of Malta, he ſhall no longer be called Chevalier de Grillon, but THE BRAVE.

HE found the duke d'Alençon at court without being ſurpriſed at it: he foreſaw that prince would reap no other advantage from his attempting the conqueſt of the Low Countries, but the like ſhame and diſgrace which attended his voyage to England; where he became the ſport of queen Elizabeth and the Engliſh nation.

HENRY III. ſaw the duke d'Alençon at court with as much anxiety as diſguſt; his incapacity, the weakneſs of his underſtanding, his wavering and unſteady diſpoſition, the readineſs with which he liſtened to any counſels againſt the intereſts of Henry, or the ſtate, made him odious to that prince: neglected, and almoſt forgotten at court, his health impaired by his debauchery, he took a reſolution to retire to Chateau-Thierri: he no ſooner arrived there, than he

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was recalled to the Low Countries; but dying ſoon after *, was prevented from following the impulſes of an ambition which had ſo often deceived him.

The duke de Guiſe, author of the league, employed the three years peace in alienating mens affections from their king: he knew how powerfully religion actuates the minds of the populace; and artfully exaggerated the danger which religion was in from the weakneſs of Henry III. who tamely permitted the exerciſe of Calviniſm in his dominions, and even gave it the ſanction of his authority, by the privileges he granted them in all his edicts of pacification. He painted with all the ſubtlety of eloquence the wretched condition of France, exhauſted by taxes and the ill conduct of the king to his minions, whom he inriched with the ſpoils of his ſubjects, who were reduced to the extremeſt miſery. That this prince, far from declaring himſelf the defender of

* He died in June, 1584.

religion,

religion, was rather the protector of Geneva, the center of hereſy; that he aſſiſted the king of Navarre with means to defend himſelf, by leaving, during ſix years, in his power ſeveral ſtrong towns: and what a proſpect was there of his inſolence and power gaining ſtrength by the death of the duke d'Alençon, brother to Henry, to whom all his appennage and fortune deſcended.

The duke de Guiſe redoubled his intrigues on the death of the duke d'Alençon; and was loudly clamorous in favour of the people, and made uſe of every artifice to rouſe them to a revolt, which might give ſucceſs to his ambitious views. He talked with warmth of the imminent danger there was, that the crown ſhould be placed on the head of the king of Navarre, a heretic prince, who would make it his buſineſs to aboliſh the antient religion, and erect Calviniſm (of which he was the chief protector) on its ruins.

After

AFTER having deluded the vulgar by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, the duke de Guiſe cauſed it to be determined, that in caſe Henry III. died without iſſue, the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould be declared king. In order to diſpoſe the leaguers in the provinces to take up arms on the firſt notice, he publiſhed a manifeſto; in which he artfully deplored the calamities of the ſtate, occaſioned by a corrupt government: he ſhewed the neceſſity of finding ſome remedy for theſe diſorders, which might relieve the people from oppreſſion, by diminiſhing the taxes, and reſtraining the avarice and inſolence of the minions; and by reforming the abuſes and dangerous indulgencies which Henry's lenity had ſuffered to be introduced into the kingdom. Theſe libels made ſtrong and lively impreſſions upon mens minds; ſo that this holy league was very near occaſioning a total ſubverſion of government.

IN this gloomy proſpect of impending calamities, Henry had recourſe to his mother to divert the ſtorm. Catherine ſaw

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at once that it was impoſſible to prevent a war, either with the League or the Huguenots; and, with her accuſtomed penetration, ſhe perceived, that prudence laid her under the neceſſity of joining the leaguers. When ſhe had taken this reſolution, ſhe met the chiefs of the league at Rheims; and there drew up a treaty, which was concluded at Nemours.

It was agreed, that no religion but the Catholic ſhould be permitted in France; that at the expiration of a month, all the Huguenot miniſters ſhould leave the kingdom; and thoſe who refuſed to abjure Calviniſm ſhould be obliged to quit it in ſix months. Towns of ſecurity were aſſigned to the principal leaguers.

Such are the fatal effects of factions in a ſtate: ſubjects, born to be ſubmiſſive and faithful to their ſovereign, inſolently invade his authority; and imperiouſly demand treaties of peace, as fatal to the ſtate as war itſelf.

The death of the duke d'Alençon made the king of Navarre preſumptive heir to the crown. This prince was extremely diſturbed to ſee the league ſo powerful; but he had it in his power to have cruſhed all their projects, by abandoning the Huguenot party, and joining the king; but he would not conſent to renounce his religion: this obſtinate refuſal made the confidence which the king repoſed in him, doubtful and wavering; and furniſhed the leaguers with a pretence to continue their revolt. They even oppoſed to the king of Navarre's pretenſions to the crown, a bull of Sixtus V; which declared him incapable of ſucceeding Henry III. This bull was received only in France; but an infinite number of copies were ſecretly diſperſed among thoſe who compoſed the faction of Sixteen.

This faction, which was the ſource of ſo many diſorders, was an aſſociation of ſome private perſons, who were firmly perſuaded the king deſigned to unite himſelf to the Huguenots, and extirpate the Catholic re-

ligion. Their error, which was occaſioned by a miſtaken zeal, determined them to defend it at the hazard of their lives.

This confederacy was in its infancy compoſed of ſome curates of Paris, doctors, attornies, notaries, and merchants: thoſe whom they admitted among them, took an oath to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of hereſy, hypocriſy, and tyranny; three crimes of which they accuſed the king.

Among theſe aſſociates ten were choſen to compoſe a council, where neceſſary reſolutions were formed: out of theſe ten, ſix were appointed, who divided among them the ſixteen quarters of Paris. They were to gain partiſans, ſow the ſeeds of diſaffection among the people, and declare to them the orders of the council. This confederacy was called The Council, or rather the Faction of Sixteen.

After bringing over to their party almoſt all Paris, they proceeded to raiſe the ſpirit of revolt in the provinces, and even in the moſt inconſiderable villages.

It is amazing that the miniſters of religion ſhould be ſo blinded by their zeal, as to look upon raiſing a faction againſt a prince (whom all laws, both divine and human, command us to obey) as an innocent and commendable exertion of it: but it has been long ſeen, that in aſſemblies where the ſpirit of party governs, nothing reſtrains them; paſſion is miſtaken for zeal, caprice for virtue; and the indiſpenſable obligations to obedience and ſubmiſſion are without ſcruple violated.

The duke de Guiſe conſidered this faction as a ſupport that might be uſeful to him. As ſoon as he believed himſelf ſtrong enough to oppoſe Henry III. he demanded with haughtineſs, that the edict of Nemours might be executed; and the Huguenots compelled to leave the kingdom. The king wanted reſolution to refuſe this demand: he publiſhed an edict, in which all Calviniſts were required to abjure their errors within fifteen days upon pain of having their goods confiſcated. The king, aſſured that

this edict would rekindle the war, raiſed five armies, and gave the command of them to the dukes de Guiſe and de Mayenne, the marſhals de Matignon and Biron, and the duke d'Epernon.

THIS laſt received from the king the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of his favour: Henry not only made him admiral of the Levant, but created for him the poſt of colonel of the infantry; and annexed to it ſuch important privileges, that he who was inveſted with it, had an authority which might not only balance, but make that of the ſovereign tremble: there was formerly a colonel-general beyond and on this ſide of the mountains; but the king, by uniting the ports, united two powers already too formidable.

SO many favours and dignities, heaped upon the duke d'Epernon, excited the jealouſy of the other favourites. They murmured loudly, and without the leaſt caution, againſt the caprice and weakneſs of the king, which made him confer ſuch extra-

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ordinary honours on a man who had not merit to juſtify his partiality; but they ſaw with pleaſure, Grillon admitted into the king's council, and inveſted with the charge of colonel-general of the French infantry *; which was created for him.

It was generally ſuſpected, and ſome even ventured to ſay openly, that notwithſtanding the king's extreme partiality for the duke d'Epernon, his intention in creating this poſt was to give him an aſſiſtant in Grillon; whoſe firm and intrepid character might be a check and reſtraint upon his ambition. Others, on the contrary, believed, that the king, by recompencing Grillon's merit, meant to unite more cloſely theſe two friends to each other.

The king wanted to reduce Provence to ſubmiſſion; which, ever ſince the death of the duke d'Angouleme, had been full of

* After his death this poſt was ſuppreſſed.

diſorder and confuſion. Devins * was head of the League in that country, and Leſdiguieres of the Huguenots: both engaged each other with the moſt obſtinate reſolution. The viſcount de Cadenet, one of the chief men in that province, was a declared enemy of Devins; whoſe authority was equally extenſive: their enmity againſt each other was the means of dividing the nobility and people; who adhered to the party of either.

Henry fixed upon the duke d'Epernon for this enterprize, preferably to the dukes de Guiſe and Mayenne. That this favourite might be aſſured of ſucceſs, he gave him the choiceſt of his troops. If the duke d'Epernon was extremely flattered with this

* Devins had been equerry to the king, when he was duke of Anjou; and ſaved his life with a generoſity that gained him immortal honour. At the ſiege of Rochelle, this prince going to view a mine, a ſoldier aimed his piece at him; which being perceived by Devins, he placed himſelf before the king, and received the wound deſigned for his maſter.

proof

proof of the king's partiality, he was alarmed at the uncertainty of the event. In Provence he foreſaw victories difficult to be gained, and towns reſolutely defended: Devins and Leſdiguieres appeared to him adverſaries not eaſily ſubdued. He trembled leſt his deluded ambition ſhould reap no other advantage from this enterprize, but ſhame and diſgrace.

These prudent reflexions forced the duke upon a reſolution which aſſured him of a glorious campaign. He conſented to ſhare the honour with Grillon; whoſe name and preſence he knew was (in the opinion of the troops) ſuperior to numbers. He intreated the king to permit Grillon to accompany him. Henry, who was as unwilling to expoſe his army as his favourite to the likelihood of a defeat, eaſily granted his requeſt.

The chevalier Dinteville, firmly attached to Grillon, always eager to follow him, and ſhare thoſe dangers his intrepidity expoſed him to, aſked the king's permiſſion to ſerve in the army in Provence. The king, ex-

tremely pleaſed with his behaviour, made him a colonel of horſe.

The duke d'Epernon arrived in Provence with all that pomp and magnificence which uſually accompanies exceſſive power ſupported by the favour and authority of the ſovereign: he had an army compoſed of the beſt troops of the kingdom, and of part of the regiment of guards.

When the duke d'Epernon and Grillon arrived, they found Provence, as has been ſaid, the ſeat of tumult and diſorder: the ſupporters of each faction, in contempt of the royal authority, were levying forces without the leaſt ſcruple. The caſtle of the ſieur de Senas was filled with troops that formed a gariſon; they feared there would be a neceſſity, in order to intimidate the rebels, to ſet fire to that caſtle; but Grillon, always humane and moderate, and averſe to acts of inhumanity, till all mild methods proved ineffectual, adviſed that Senas ſhould be ſummoned to ſurrender, and required to diſmiſs the troops that were

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in his caſtle: he alleged, that it was poſſible that gentleman might have no other motive in aſſembling them there, than his own ſafety; in which caſe he ought not to be treated as a criminal. He added, that they muſt be determined by his anſwer in what manner to proceed. Grillon's advice was followed, and Senas, at the firſt order, diſmiſſed his officers and ſoldiers.

THE duke d'Epernon, who wanted to keep meaſures with the army, aſſembled at Aix the preſidents of the parliament, the advocates, attorney-general, and meſſieurs de Termes & de Seguier, counſellors of ſtate, in order to fix upon ſome method to reſtore tranquillity to the province. Grillon ſaid, the ſureſt expedient was to ſeize ſome of the chief towns of which the Huguenots were in poſſeſſion, and from whence they committed ravages all over the country; for while they had any aſylum left, there was no hopes of reducing a people to ſubmiſſion whoſe wrongs had made them deſperate: that by driving them

from thence by open force, they would either be compelled to abandon the province, or fall into the power of the king's troops. His advice was liſtened to, and followed.

They began the ſiege of Seine: this is a frontier city of Dauphiné, and the approaches to it inacceſſible: there is no way of entering it, but by climbing a prodigious high mountain, and deſcending from thence into a ſteep valley ſurrounded with precipices. The Huguenots, being perſuaded that no army could march through ſo impaſſable a road, thought themſelves in ſafety at Seine.

Their aſtoniſhment equalled their conſternation, when they heard that the Catholics, ſurmounting every obſtacle, were drawing near to beſiege them: but, recovering from their firſt alarm, they were reaſſured, when they reflected, that it was neither poſſible any cannon could approach them, nor that Seine could be taken without artillery. They had likewiſe aſſurances from the duke de Leſdiguieres, who brought there

there ſome troops, that he would himſelf oppoſe the paſſage of the army, and engage it.

THE duke d'Epernon ſummoned it to ſurrender: the governor did not refuſe to liſten to a capitulation, but inſiſted upon conditions ſo favourable to the Huguenots, that the duke was unwilling to grant them. Grillon, who foreſaw that their obſtinacy was only to be conquered by the terrors of cannon, ordered ſome to be brought from Marſeilles and the neighbouring towns: it is not poſſible to deſcribe the labour it was to carry their artillery acroſs the mountains and precipices; but every difficulty was overcome. At ſight of the cannon the beſieged aſked to capitulate: d'Epernon at firſt refuſed to liſten to any terms; but inſiſted that the rebels ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. To Grillon they owed the clemency they were treated with. After they had ſurrendered, Tornabon was appointed governor of the place.

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FROM Seine they marched to Breole; the army arrived there the fifth of November: this place is ſituated upon a very ſteep rock and waſhed by the river d'Ubaye. The Huguenots had fortified it; and an officer of reſolution and experience commanded there, who was born in this city, and bore the name of it: thus, from a motive of vanity, he intereſted himſelf in its defence; nor indeed had he neglected any thing to make it in a manner impregnable.

EVERY day, from the very beginning of the ſiege, was remarkable for ſome ſkirmiſh: the beſieged made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, and drove the beſiegers beyond the trenches. Grillon always forced them back again with the loſs of officers and ſoldiers.

IN a few days the enemy was ſummoned to ſurrender; their reply was a reſolute refuſal. The duke d'Epernon, incenſed at their obſtinacy, played the cannon with ſo much ſucceſs, that he made a very conſiderable breach: the beſieged with extreme diligence attempted to repair it; but they did

did not give them time, orders being iſſued for an immediate aſſault.

Grillon took upon himſelf the conducting this attack; as uſual, he was the firſt that mounted the breach; his nephew *, whom he brought from Avignon, fought by his ſide, and under this great model learnt to conquer. The action was very deſperate.

The whole gariſon preſented itſelf upon the breach: an officer of merit and diſtinction was there at the head of a company the duke de Leſdiguieres had brought into the place; who was ſupported by ſixty gentlemen, all reſolutely determined to defend the breach at the hazard of their lives. Grillon, with his accuſtomed calmneſs, neither intimidated by the continual fire, nor obſtinate reſiſtance of the enemy, was upon the point of carrying the place, when he received a wound which diſabled him.

* A knight of Malta, only eighteen years of age.

At that inſtant the beſiegers retreated; and the beſieged, weakened by an attack in which they had loſt the beſt part of their gariſon, deſired to capitulate; the conditions they demanded were granted them, upon promiſe of not bearing arms againſt the king for three months.

The duke d'Epernon diſpatched a courier to the king to acquaint him with the reduction of Breole and Grillon's wound. Henry was more afflicted than rejoiced at the news: the king loved Grillon; he knew how invaluable was the life of a faithful ſubject and a brave warrior; and was in continual alarms till Grillon was abſolutely out of danger.

From Breole the duke d'Epernon conducted his army to his brother la Valette, who was beſieging Charges; a town ſituated in the midſt of fens, ſurrounded with ſtrong baſtions, and defended by ſeven hundred of the duke de Leſdiguieres's beſt troops: with this reinforcement it would have been impoſſible for la Valette to have made

made himſelf maſter of Charges. Grillon, ſcarce recovered of his wounds, went to this ſiege. D'Epernon and la Valette had not only occaſion for his counſel, experience, and valour, but his very name was neceſſary to animate the ſoldiers: his preſence haſtened the reduction of the place; which was followed by that of almoſt all the cities the Huguenots had ſeized. This province having ſubmitted, Grillon went to Avignon, that he might be intirely cured of his wound.

THE chevalier Dinteville, more fortunate than Grillon, notwithſtanding he had expoſed himſelf equally at the ſieges of Seine and Breole, eſcaped without a wound. His affection for Grillon would not permit him to leave him a moment, day or night, during the months that he was confined to his bed. Langlade and Lamortie, who had followed him into Provence in quality of his aids de camp, and accompanied him to Avignon, were his conſtant attendants.

No ſpectacle could be more affecting than Grillon's arrival at Avignon: the poor, by whom he was adored, ſurrounded him, crying out, This is our benefactor, our father, our hero; God preſerve him, and proſper all his actions: the inhabitants thronged to their doors and windows, all eager to ſalute him, and expreſs the joy they felt at ſeeing him once more.

Crouds of the nobility of Avignon, and the parts adjacent, came to expreſs an eſteem which was more due to the amiable qualities of his heart, than to his reputation as an invincible warrior.

During Grillon's ſtay at Avignon his door was crouded by the poor of the town, who came by turns to receive his charity. The poſts he enjoyed made his income very conſiderable. Before he left Avignon, he ſettled a large ſum for the relief of the poor; which was to be diſtributed monthly, under the direction of his brother the count de Berton.

The duke d'Epernon, who could not diſſemble that it was to Grillon he owed the glory of ſubduing Provence, went to viſit him, to expreſs his acknowlegements, and to vow to him a friendſhip, which nothing ſhould have power to interrupt.

The caſtle of Taraſcon was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Huguenots: Alphonſo commanded in that fort, and kept all the country in awe. The duke d'Epernon found his army ſo much reduced by war and ſickneſs, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake ſieges; yet he could not reſolve to return to court, and leave Taraſcon in the hands of the rebels: he applied to Grillon, and aſked his opinion, who adviſed him to have recourſe to negotiation, ſince he was unable to employ force; and took the whole upon himſelf.

Success followed this ſtep: when he arrived at Taraſcon, he demanded an audience of Alphonſo, and painted to him the crime of revolt in ſuch ſtrong and lively colours; talked of the recompences he

he might expect from his lawful ſovereign, if he returned to his duty; and knew ſo well how to intimidate him, if he perſiſted in his rebellion, that Alphonſo ſurrendered this fortreſs to the obedience of the king. The duke d'Epernon, whoſe every wiſh was now accompliſhed, appeared at court with the luſtre of a general, who had conquered a province of the firſt importance.

But if the prince and favourite reaped the fruits of this illuſtrious campaign, Grillon had all the glory: it was ſo much the received opinion at court, that the ſucceſſes of the army of Provence were juſtly to be attributed to the experience, bravery, and unwearied activity of Grillon, that, among other railleries upon this ſubject, a book was publicly ſold, intitled, The great and valiant exploits of M. d'Epernon, in his journey to Provence. The reſt of the book was blank paper.

Grillon's glorious exploits, while they endeared him to the Royaliſts, made him odious to the Huguenots, and ſtill more ſo

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to the league: a ſoldier of that faction, excited by the hopes of a noble recompence, undertook to kill him; but, intimidated at the aſpect of that great man, his trembling hand had not power to guide the ſword, which only juſt glanced above his eye. The hero deſpiſed the aſſaſſin, and ſuffered him to eſcape; but he thought he ought to acquaint the king, that he might guard himſelf againſt the rage of his enemies, and thoſe of the ſtate, whom it was impoſſible to watch over with too much circumſpection. The king ſent him the following anſwer.

"DEAR GRILLON,

"I AM extremely incenſed at what has "happened: I want to ſee you, that we "may conſult together how it is proper to "proceed. You need not be told how "perfectly I am ſatisfied with you and "your ſervices. I eagerly wiſh and hope, "that you will be well enough to do the "honours of the houſe at the nuptials of

"M.

" M. d'Epernon, which will be ſoon.
" Adieu, God preſerve you.

HENRY."

WHILE the duke d'Epernon and Grillon were employed in forcing the rebel towns in Provence to ſubmit, the dukes de Mayenne and Guiſe left nothing unattempted to ſtrengthen the party of the league, under pretence of ſerving the king: Henry, who penetrated into their deſign, had as great an averſion for the Leaguers as the Huguenots; but notwithſtanding his hatred to the latter, he reſolved to make uſe of them againſt the others: this conduct authorized the Leaguers to give out, that the king favoured the Huguenots to the prejudice of the Catholic religion.

HENRY was in a ſituation extremely critical and perplexing: he could not ſatisfy one party without enraging the other; the precautions he uſed to keep terms with one, made him odious and contemptible to both. The duke de Guiſe was inceſſantly

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inſinuating, that the king had ſent for an army of Swiſs Proteſtants and German horſe; that he was aiming at the extirpation of the antient religion; and intended to place the crown on the head of a heretic prince.

THE faction of Sixteen induſtriouſly ſpread theſe ſeditious reports; and diſperſed through the kingdom, and even in the neighbouring ſtates, the moſt infamous libels.

THEIR inſolence went ſo far as to form the deſign of electing a Catholic king to oppoſe the foreign Proteſtants, which they pretended were to be brought into France; and boldly throwing off the maſk, they attempted to take poſſeſſion of the Baſtille, the arſenal, palace, Louvre, and even the perſon of the king, with deſign to deliver him up to the duke de Guiſe.

THE Huguenots excited by a republican ſpirit, aimed at deſtroying the Catholic religion, at overthrowing the monarchy, and erecting on its ruins, in the center of the

the kingdom, an independent government: the leaguers, from a miſtaken zeal, and a belief that they were defending a good cauſe, took up arms againſt their lawful ſovereign: the duke de Guiſe, the idol and ſoul of the party, perſuaded them that they were called upon by their country to exert themſelves, and act with vigour and reſolution.

HENRY, always weak and inconſtant in his conduct, kept the kingdom in perpetual agitation by the infinite number of various and contradictory edicts which he publiſhed; multiplied proofs of the feeble and tottering condition of the government, which oppoſite factions might draw too great advantage from. The minions, whoſe attachment to the king had no other baſis but their own intereſt, drained the finances, and were as much the object of the public indignation, as of the favour of a prince, whoſe conduct made him equally hated and deſpiſed.

THE number of perſons ſincerely attached to their king was ſo ſmall, that we cannot

cannot venture to name any with certainty, except the brave Grillon and the marſhal d'Aumont. Some even ſay, that Catherine had no longer the ſame tenderneſs for her ſon; this tenderneſs was transferred to the young marquis du Pont her grandſon, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Lorraine: Catherine wiſhed that he might ſucceed Henry, and exclude the king of Navarre, whom ſhe hated.

The duke de Guiſe took advantage of a ſituation of affairs, which ſeemed to favour his ambitious views: ſeduced by the hope of bringing them to perfection, he had the inſolence to contemn the authority of his ſovereign; and notwithſtanding this prince's abſolute command, joined the Leaguers and the faction of Sixteen at Paris; from whence they had wrote to acquaint him at Soiſſons, that his preſence was neceſſary. It was even reported that Catherine, who ſecretly favoured the league, had promiſed to appeaſe the king's reſentment.

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When the king was informed that the duke de Guiſe was at Paris, he was ſo much incenſed, that in the firſt tranſports of his rage he reſolved to ſtab him the inſtant he entered the Louvre. L'abbé d'Elbenne has been accuſed of endeavouring to confirm him in his reſolution, by repeating in a whiſper this paſſage of the goſpel, "I "will ſtrike the ſhepherd, and the ſheep "ſhall be ſcattered." Others, more moderate, repreſented to him, that the death of the duke de Guiſe muſt neceſſarily be productive of very fatal conſequences; that the people would riſe, and in their rage forget the reverence due to majeſty; that it was more prudent to hear what the duke de Guiſe had to allege, and afterwards fix upon ſome better concerted meaſures to intimidate the rebels.

The king, wavering and unſteady in his reſolutions, yielded; and conſented that his mother ſhould bring the duke de Guiſe to the young queen's apartment. Catherine went in her equipage to the Louvre, and the

the duke accompanied her on foot: the inſtant he appeared the ſtreets reſounded with, Long live the duke of Guiſe; long live the defender of the faith, the protector of the church, the ſaviour of Paris!

THE duke, who when he left Soiſſons had only ſeven or eight gentlemen in his retinue, now ſaw himſelf at Paris attended by thirty thouſand men. The citizens left their houſes to follow him; the people in multitudes crouded round him; all eagerly preſſed to get a ſight of a man whom they called The deliverer of his country: ſome, from a kind of veneration, bent their knees before him, and kiſſed his garment. The women from the windows, to expreſs the ſhare they took in the general joy, ſtrewed flowers at his feet.

NO temptation could be more ſeducing to his ambition, than an adoration ſo univerſal and flattering: he returned the honours ſhewed him with an air ſo chearful and ſatisfied, accompanied by all thoſe inſinuating graces of look, word, and geſ-

ture, which gave him the aſcendant over every heart.

In the midſt of theſe general acclamations, the duke de Guiſe arrived at the Louvre; the guards were drawn up in the court with Grillon at their head: this faithful ſubject was extremely offended at theſe criminal demonſtrations of joy, and conſidered them as a kind of triumph the league had gained over the king, on the very ſpot where the ſovereign authority has the greateſt claim to reſpect, he felt too ſenſibly the inſult offered to his maſter.

At that inſtant the duke de Guiſe appeared; when he paſſed Grillon he ſaluted him with an air of friendſhip and diſtinction; but the other, ſuperior to any diſguiſe of policy, looked haughtily upon the duke de Guiſe, who appeared confuſed, and bluſhed; every body perceived it: they ſaw a general, intrepid, daring, and reſolute, followed by applauding multitudes, change colour at the ſight of a colonel of the guards; in a word, they ſaw that one glance

glance from Grillon's eye, made the chief of the league tremble.

As ſoon as the king ſaw the duke de Guiſe, he aſked him, with a tone of voice that expreſſed his reſentment, What brought him to Paris in contempt of his abſolute command to the contrary? The duke anſwered without emotion, That he came to juſtify himſelf from the aſperſions of his enemies, and to aſſure his majeſty of his inviolable attachment to his ſervice: the king anſwered him coldly, That he ſhould judge of his ſentiments by his actions. It is ſaid, that the princeſs of Lorraine told him ſecretly he was in great danger; that it was determined to ruin him; and that this fatal deſign might be diſcovered in Henry's gloomy looks: the duke went out, and was conducted back by the people, who waited for him, with the ſame joyful acclamations.

From the moment the duke de Guiſe entered Paris, nothing was to be heard, but thoſe agitations, cabals, and commo-

tions, which gave birth to civil war. The king ordered the guard at the Louvre to be doubled; he commanded the magiſtrates to go into all the inns and private houſes, and compel all who had no ſettled abode there, to leave Paris immediately; the ſieurs d'O and de Vilquiers were charged with the execution of this order; which was uſeleſs, for great numbers retreated to the duke de Guiſe, and the reſt found pretences to diſobey.

The king ſaw with as much ſhame as indignation, his authority viſiby decreaſe, and that of the duke riſe to a formidable height: he placed troops in Paris and the parts adjacent, and took a reſolution to ſeize the principal poſts; four thouſand Swiſs, and two hundred French foot, were diſperſed about the city; but the ſquare of Maubert, and the quarters of the univerſity, filled with ſcholars and thoſe who diſpoſe of benefices, of watermen and porters, all dangerous perſons, were forgot; the king ordered Grillon to take them priſoners;

ers; but expreſly forbid him to uſe violence or ſhed blood, from an apprehenſion of raiſing the people to a ſedition, which would have been headed by the duke de Guiſe.

Grillon, aſtoniſhed at ſo ill-timed a clemency, took the liberty of repreſenting to the king, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it was abſolutely neceſſary for his majeſty to act with vigour and reſolution; that in order to be obeyed in ſuch an exigence as this, he muſt make himſelf feared; that the more the people were ſpared, the more their inſolence increaſed, and took advantage of his lenity; that at all events it was abſolutely neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Maubert, and the parts about the univerſity, which at preſent were poſts of the moſt importance; but to accompliſh this, they muſt attack and vanquiſh all who reſiſted them.

However judicious this advice was, the king, weak and eaſily intimidated, reiterated his commands to Grillon: the event

juſtified his counſel, and made the king ſorely repent he had not followed it: Grillon, deeply affected to ſee the king thus deſert himſelf, marched at the head of two companies of guards to Maubert, where he found Bois-Dauphin, who with the ſtudents of the univerſity, ſome watermen and porters, had already taken poſſeſſion of it, and made barricades which extended to the univerſity.

Grillon would have found no difficulties in forcing the barricade and diſperſing a tumultuous undiſciplined troop, whom the ſligheſt appearance of danger had power to intimidate; but his valour was reſtrained by the prohibitions of the king, who ſtill fearing his impetuoſity might tempt him to diſobey, took care every hour to repeat them; he went further, and commanded him to retreat, but this order came too late: the duke de Briſſac having met a numerous company of ſtudents and porters, ordered them to make barricades with ſome barrels filled with dung and earth;

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ſo that when the French guards would have retreated, they found the paſſage cloſed.

To thoſe who are acquainted with the character of Grillon, it is eaſy to conceive his diſtreſs and deſpair at theſe timid orders of Henry, who was equally inſenſible of the imprudence and danger of them. The rebels ſeized all the quarters of the univerſity, extended the barricades within fifty feet of the Louvre, attacked the Swiſs in the church-yard of the Holy Innocents, and in all the parts where they were incloſed, threw upon them a ſhower of ſtones and ſhot, which forced theſe miſerable troops (too ſubmiſſive at that inſtant to the commands of their ſovereign) to aſk quarter, which was granted them, on condition they would cry out, Long live the duke de Guiſe: the leaguers of Maubert dared not treat the French guards ſo ignominiouſly; Grillon was at their head, and had the liberty to retreat with his troop.

The duke de Guiſe had it now in his power to aſcend the throne; fortune, as it

were, led him to it by the hand; he had as many regular troops in Paris as the king. The Pariſians, intoxicated by their veneration for him and contempt for the king, would have ſacrificed their lives to deprive him of a crown they thought him unworthy to wear, and to place it upon the head of the duke de Guiſe; but whether the duke imagined it would always be in his power to wreſt the ſceptre out of Henry's hands, whether he choſe to wait till the people compelled him to it, or rather, whether the exceſs of his joy ſmothered his prudence; but he was ſatisfied that day with having made his king tremble. What an error in an ambitious chief determined to be an uſurper!

Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, whoſe underſtanding was at once ſolid and penetrating, ſaid on this occaſion, "That "the duke de Guiſe had threatened too "much, and done too little; he ought "either never to have taken ſo daring a "ſtep, or reſolutely purſued his advantage; "that

" that he had forgot the proverb, which " ſays, He who draws his ſword againſt " his prince, ſhould that inſtant caſt away " the ſcabbard."

THE king was under the moſt gloomy apprehenſions: he felt his throne tremble under him; the people ready to aſſiſt the duke de Guiſe to aſcend it: the duke, maſter both of the perſon and life of his ſovereign, had now nothing to fear from him, had he wiſhed to complete his rebellion by putting him to death.

THE day following the king ſent Catherine his mother to the duke de Guiſe, who attributed this tumult and diſorder to the bad counſels the king had received, to bring ſoldiers into the city: his terms were ſo very extraordinary, that his wearing the crown excepted, he muſt have become abſolute maſter of the kingdom; he inſiſted upon the king's declaring him lieutenant-general of the ſtate, and inveſting him with the ſame authority his father had enjoyed under Francis I: that the king of Navarre

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and all the princes of his houſe, ſhould be declared incapable of ſucceeding to the throne; and Grillon, the object of his hatred and ſuſpicion, deprived of the regiment of guards, which ſhould be given to a man leſs formidable to this party.

The teſtimony, the moſt glorious and leaſt equivocal, of Grillon's fidelity, was given by the duke de Guiſe in this conference. In effect, Grillon muſt have been extremely dreaded by this faction; he who was its ſoul and oracle, forgets his haughty confidence, and ſtoops to make it one of his terms, that he ſhould be no longer expoſed to the indignation and diſdain of ſo loyal and brave an adverſary.

Catherine repreſented to the duke de Guiſe, that the inſiſting upon ſuch terms, was in a manner dethroning the king; the duke, ſteady and determined to obtain what he demanded, proteſted, that he would ſacrifice his life for the ſecurity of the Catholic religion, and the honour of his houſe: Catherine returned to the Lou-

vre,

vre, where the troops were ſtill in arms, and the king in a perplexity eaſier to be imagined than deſcribed.

HENRY was ſurrounded by his favourites; ſome urged to grant all the duke de Guiſe's demands, rather than hazard a civil war; others declared, that ſo abject a ſubmiſſion would abſolutely overthrow the royal authority, and give up the king and ſtate to the diſcretion of the league; ſeveral were of opinion that Henry ſhould quit Paris, and retire to ſome town where he might fix upon meaſures to reduce the rebels; but the greateſt number thought this reſource, though the ſecureſt, beneath him.

THUS trembling and irreſolute, Henry, Catherine, and the council, paſſed the night, which the duke de Guiſe employed in viſiting the poſts his troops had taken poſſeſſion of, and preparing to ſurround the Louvre, in order to reduce Henry to the laſt extremities, and compel him to yield to his conditions. When the king

was

was informed of this, he ſaw there was no alternative, but flight or captivity.

When he had taken this reſolution, he ſent Catherine early in the morning to amuſe the duke de Guiſe by new offers of peace; but this artful, politic princeſs employed time enough in diſcuſſing particulars, to give her ſon an opportunity of leaving Paris; ſhe made the duke the moſt advantageous offers, who on his ſide refuſed to give up any of his firſt demands; Catherine exclaimed at theſe unreaſonable conditions, and endeavoured to convince the duke of the injuſtice of his proceeding; but he, ever inflexible, talked in the ſtyle of one aſſured that he was able to obtain by open force, what he wiſhed to owe to the king's indulgence.

During theſe debates the king was preparing for a precipitate flight; he imparted his deſign to Grillon, and commanded him to get his regiment in readineſs to join him at Etampes; the Swiſs guards had the ſame orders: theſe meaſures being taken, the

the king, under pretence of walking in the Thuilleries, made his eſcape, attended by only ten or twelve gentlemen, and went to Etampes.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA in VOL. I.

Page 5. line 13, *for* their anceſtors, *read* anceſtors.
Page 15. l. 22, *for* enemies, *read* enemy.
Note, p. 62. l. 9. *for* Gaillebeon, *read* Quillebœuf.
P. 66. l. 13, *for* was pronounced, *read* pronounced.
P. 76. l. 16, *for* ſoldiers, *read* ſoldier.
P. 209. l. 10, *for* appearing, *read* apparent.
P. 244. l. 17, *for* ports, *read* poſts.